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EPISCOPAL SUCCESSION IN THE UNITED STATES[1]

IV. THE PROVINCE OF NEW ORLEANS

The religious history of Louisiana and the Mississippi Valley may be traced back to the voyage of La Salle in 1681. The Recollect "Father Zenobius Membré bore him company and his account of the canoe voyage is preserved."[2] "The French government asked the Holy See to erect one or more Vicariates Apostolic in the Mississippi Valley and the hopes of a successful mission appeared to the Propaganda so well founded that the Vicariates were actually established. But when information of this step reached Bishop St. Vallier[3] at Quebec, he forwarded to Paris and Rome a strong protest against the dismemberment of his diocese, without his knowledge and consent. He claimed the valley of the Mississippi as having been discovered by Father Marquette, a priest of his diocese, and Louis Jolliet, a pupil of his Seminary. He claimed that Father Marquette had preached to the natives on that river and baptized Indians there twelve years before. Louis XIV referred the matter to three Commissioners, and on their report, he solicited from the Holy See a revocation of the Vicariates which had been established,"[4] about 1685.

The Bishops of Quebec continued to govern Louisiana and the Mississippi Valley until 1763. After the cession of Louisiana to Spain, the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction was transferred to the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba, who sent as his Vicar the Capuchin Father Cyril de Barcelona. Father Cyril was, in 1781, conse-

[1] The Chronology of the Catholic Hierarchy in the Provinces of Baltimore, Oregon City and St. Louis will be found in the January (1916) issue of this REVIEW (Vol. i, pp. 367–390).

[2] SHEA, *o. c.*, Vol. i, p. 326.

[3] The second Bishop of Quebec.

[4] SHEA, *ibid.*, p. 327.

crated titular Bishop of Tricala and made Auxiliary of Santiago, and New Orleans for the first time enjoyed the presence of a bishop. "In 1787 the Holy See, at the instance of the King of Spain, divided the diocese of Santiago de Cuba and erected the new bishopric of St. Christopher of Havana, Louisiana and the Floridas. The Right Rev. Joseph de Trespalacios, Bishop of Porto Rico, became the first bishop of the new diocese, and Bishop Cyril remained as auxiliary.[5] In 1793, Bishop Cyril was very unceremoniously ordered to leave Louisiana by the King of Spain, who at the same time induced the Holy See to erect the new diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas, April 25, 1793. This diocese was bounded on the North and East by that of Baltimore and on the South and West by Linares and Durango in Mexico.[6] The Right Rev. Louis Peñalver y Cardenas was appointed the first bishop and arrived in New Orleans, July 17, 1795. After his departure, in 1801, the diocese was administered by Vicars General until Archbishop Carroll, acting on a decree of the Holy See, dated October 1, 1805, assumed jurisdiction. As, however, this rescript was unsatisfactory, the Archbishop encountered many difficulties and asked for more definite and more ample authority. He sent the Rev. Louis Du Bourg as his representative to New Orleans, August 8, 1812. Father Du Bourg was later appointed Bishop of Louisiana and, after the cession of Florida, also assumed jurisdiction over that part of the Diocese, which had been hitherto a source of dispute. As we have seen in relating the history of St. Louis, after several changes, the diocese of Louisiana was divided into the Dioceses of St. Louis and New Orleans, July 18, 1826.

The Diocese of New Orleans is described by the Second Provincial Council in 1833 as comprising the States of Louisiana and Mississippi. Mississippi was detached in 1837 to form the Diocese of Natchez, and by the erection of Natchitoches, in 1853, New Orleans was reduced to its present limits, the southern part of the State, with an area of 23,208 square miles. It has, in 1916, 315 priests, 264 churches, 20 stations and a Catholic population of 550,000. New Orleans was made an Archdiocese, July 19, 1850, with Mobile, Natchez, Little Rock and Galveston as Suffragan Sees. To these have been added Alexandria, Dallas,

[5] SHEA, *o. c.*, Vol. ii, p. 558.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 570.

San Antonio, Corpus Christi and Oklahoma, covering six States and the western part of Florida.

1. NEW ORLEANS (1793)

1. The first Bishop of Louisiana was the Right Rev. **Louis Peñalver y Cardenas,** born April 3, 1749, in Cuba and ordained at Havana, April 4, 1772. On July 20, 1801, Bishop Peñalver was made Archbishop of Guatemala which See he resigned, March 1, 1806. He died in Havana, July 17, 1810.

2. To succeed Bishop Peñalver a Franciscan, the Right Rev. **Francis Porro y Peñado,** was nominated and duly appointed, but as Spain was about to give up possession of Louisiana, he was transferred to another Diocese.

3. The Right Rev. **William Du Bourg** was born in San Domingo, February 4, 1766, and was ordained at Paris in 1788. (Reuss, *Biog. Cyclo.*) When Louisiana was ceded to the United States, Bishop Carroll was made Apostolic Administrator with the faculty of naming another to fill the same office. In virtue of this faculty he named the Very Rev. William Du Bourg Administrator Apostolic of Louisiana and the Floridas in 1812. On September 24, 1815, Dr. Du Bourg was consecrated the third Bishop of Louisiana. On July 18, 1826, Pope Leo XII, having divided the Diocese of Louisiana and erected the Diocese of New Orleans and St. Louis and the Vicariate Apostolic of Mississippi, accepted the resignation of Bishop Du Bourg and placed the See of New Orleans under the administration of Bishop Rosati, who was appointed Bishop of St. Louis, March 20, 1827. Bishop Rosati had already, from March 24, 1824, been titular Bishop of Tanagra and Coadjutor of Bishop Du Bourg. Bishop Du Bourg was translated to the Diocese of Montauban in France, August 13, 1826. He was appointed Archbishop of Besançon, February 15, 1833, and died, December 12, 1833.

4. The Right Rev. **Leo de Neckere, C.M.,** born in Belgium, June 6, 1800, and ordained at St. Louis, October 13, 1822, became the first Bishop of New Orleans August 4, 1829, and was consecrated, May 24, 1830. He died of yellow fever, September 4, 1833.

5. The Most Rev. **Anthony Blanc,** born October 11, 1792, and ordained July 22, 1816, was consecrated, November 22, 1835. He became the first Archbishop of New Orleans, July 19, 1850, and died, June 20, 1860.

6. The Most Rev. **J. M. Odin,** born in France, February 25, 1801, and ordained at St. Louis, May 4, 1823, was consecrated titular Bishop of Claudiopolis and Vicar Apostolic of Texas, March 6, 1842. He became Bishop of Galveston, April 23, 1847; Archbishop of New Orleans, February 15, 1861, and died in France, May 25, 1870.

7. The Most Rev. **Napoleon Joseph Perche,** born at Angers, France, January 30, 1805, and ordained, September 19, 1829; was consecrated titular Bishop of Abdera and Coadjutor to Archbishop Odin, May 1, 1870. He became Archbishop of New Orleans, May 25, 1870, and died, December 27, 1883.

8. The Most Rev. **F. X. Leray,** born in France, April 20, 1825, and ordained at Natchez, March 19, 1852, was consecrated Bishop of Natchitoches, April 22, 1877. He was appointed titular Bishop of Jonopolis and Coadjutor of

New Orleans, October 23, 1879, became Archbishop, December 27, 1883, and died in France, September 23, 1887.

9. The Most Rev. **Francis Janssens,** born October 17, 1843, in Holland, and ordained, December 22, 1862, was consecrated Bishop of Natchez, May 1, 1881. He was promoted to New Orleans, August 7, 1888 and died, June 10, 1897, at sea on his way to New York, from which he intended to sail for Europe.

10. The Most Rev. **Placide Louis Chapelle,** born in France, August 18, 1842, and ordained at Baltimore, June 29, 1865, was appointed titluar Bishop of Arabissus and Coadjutor of Santa Fe, August 21, 1891, and was consecrated, November 1, 1891. He was promoted to the titular Archbishopric of Sebaste, May 10, 1893, and became Archbishop of Sante Fe, January 9, 1894. He was made Archbishop of New Orleans, December 1, 1897. In 1899, Archbishop Chapelle was appointed by the Holy See Apostolic Delegate Extraordinary for Cuba and Porto Rico, which office he held until his death, August 9, 1905.

The Right Rev. G. A. Rouxel, titular Bishop of Curio and Auxiliary of New Orleans, was consecrated April 9, 1899, and died, March 17, 1908.

11. The present Archbishop is the Most Rev. **James H. Blenk, S.M.,** born July 28, 1856, and ordained, August 16, 1885. He was appointed Bishop of Porto Rico, June 12, 1899, was consecrated July 2, 1899, and was promoted to New Orleans, April 20, 1906.

The Right Rev. John M. Laval, born at New Orleans in 1854, appointed titular Bishop of Hierocaesarea, September 7, 1911, and consecrated, November 29, 1911, is the Auxiliary of New Orleans.

2. MOBILE (1825–1829)

Mobile was erected into a parish by Bishop Saint Vallier of Quebec in 1703,[7] and the history of Southern Alabama is bound up with that of Louisiana, of which diocese it was a part, until 1822, when it was detached at the instance of Bishop Du Bourg, to form part of a new Vicariate. But as Northern Alabama and Mississippi belonged to the diocese of Baltimore, Archbishop Maréchal protested against the dismemberment of his diocese without his consent, and Pope Pius VIII, July 14, 1823, abrogated the letters creating the Vicariate. The Archbishop "then formally abdicated his jurisdiction over the two States, and the Pope by his Bull of August 19, 1825, placed Mississippi under the care of Bishop Du Bourg as Vicar Apostolic, and on August 26, 1825, Alabama and Florida were made a Vicariate Apostolic, which Pius VIII, May 15, 1829, erected into the diocese of Mobile."[8]

Still later, Eastern Florida became first a Vicariate and finally the Diocese of Saint Augustine; and the Diocese of Mobile was

[7] SHEA, *o. c.*, Vol. i, p. 546.
[8] *Ibid.*, Vol. iii, p. 73.

confined to the State of Alabama and Western Florida. It has an area of 58,821 square miles, 51,540 in Alabama and 7,281 in Florida. It has, in 1916, 129 priests, 102 churches, 213 stations and chapels and a Catholic population of about 46,000.

1. The first vicar Apostolic was the Right Rev. **Michael Portier,** born in France, September 7, 1795. He came to America in 1817 with Bishop Du Bourg and was ordained at St. Louis in 1818. He was consecrated titular Bishop of Oleno, November 5, 1826, and became Bishop of Mobile, May 15, 1829. He died, May 14, 1859.

2. The Right Rev. **John Quinlan,** born in Ireland, October 19, 1826, was ordained at Cincinnati, August 30, 1852, and was consecrated, December 4, 1859. He died, March 9, 1883.

3. The Right Rev. **Dominic Manucy** was born, December 20, 1823, at St. Augustine, Florida, and was ordained, August 15, 1850, by Bishop Portier. He was consecrated titular Bishop of Dulma and Vicar Apostolic of Brownsville, December 8, 1874. He was made Bishop of Mobile, March 9, 1884. His resignation as Bishop of Mobile was accepted, October 9, 1884, and he was reappointed Vicar Apostolic of Brownsville, with the title of Bishop of Maronia, February 7, 1885. He died, December 4, 1885, before returning to Texas.

4. The Right Rev. **Jeremiah O'Sullivan** was born in County Cork, Ireland, February 6, 1842, and was ordained at Baltimore, June 30, 1868. He was consecrated, September 20, 1885, and died, August 10, 1896.

5. The present bishop is the Right Rev. **Edward P. Allen,** born at Boston, March 17, 1853, and ordained, December 17, 1881. He was President of Mount Saint Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Md., when he was appointed Bishop of Mobile, April 10, 1897. He was consecrated, May 16, 1897.

3. NATCHEZ (1837)

Catholic Missionary work began in Mississippi with the expedition of Marquette, La Salle and Iberville, and the second Bishop of Quebec, Saint Vallier, sent a priest who labored in the neighborhood of what is now Natchez. "When Spain relinquished to the United States," says Shea, "Natchez and the district which she had captured from England and which, of course, was not conveyed by the treaty of 1783, the old French town, which had been regarded from its foundation as a part of Louisiana, was finally severed from it and became a part of the United States. It was henceforth regarded as belonging to the Diocese of Baltimore."[9] Shea also writes: "Pope Pius VIII, August 19, 1825, placed Mississippi under the care of Bishop Du Bourg as Vicar Apostolic,"[10] but the administration actually fell to the share of Bishop Rosati

[9] SHEA, *o. c.*, Vol. ii, p. 504.

[10] SHEA, *o. c.*, Vol. iii, p. 73.

first as Coadjutor of Bishop Du Bourg and afterwards as Bishop of St. Louis. The Diocese of Natchez was erected July 28, 1837, and comprises the State of Mississippi with an area of 46,340 square miles. It has, in 1916, 51 priests, 108 churches, 54 stations with a Catholic population of 28,003. The Rev. Thomas Heyden was chosen as the first bishop, but he declined the office.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. **John J. Chanche**, born at Baltimore, Md., October 4, 1795. He was ordained, June 5, 1819, by Archbishop Maréchal, was appointed Bishop of Natchez, December 15, 1840, and was consecrated, March 14, 1841. He died, July 22, 1852.

2. The Right Rev. **James Oliver Van de Velde** was born in Belgium, April 3, 1795, became a Jesuit and was ordained at Baltimore by Archbishop Maréchal, September 25, 1827. He was consecrated Bishop of Chicago, February 11, 1849, was translated to Natchez, July 29, 1853, and died, November 13, 1855.

3. The Right Rev. **William Henry Elder**, born at Baltimore, March 22, 1819, was ordained at Rome, March 29, 1846, and was consecrated Bishop of Natchez, May 3, 1857. On January 30, 1880, he was made titular Bishop of Avara and Coadjutor of Cincinnati. On the death of Archbishop Purcell, he became Archbishop of Cincinnati. He died, October 31, 1904.

4. The Most Rev. **Francis Janssens**, born at Tillburg, Holland, October 17, 1843, and ordained at Louvain, December 21, 1867, was consecrated Bishop of Natchez, May 1, 1881, and was transferred to New Orleans, August 6, 1888. He died, June 10, 1897.

5. The Right Rev. **Thomas Heslin**, born in Ireland in April, 1847, and ordained at Mobile, September 18, 1869, was consecrated Bishop of Natchez, June 18, 1889. He died, February 22, 1911.

6. The present bishop is the Right Rev. **John Edward Gunn, S.M.**, born in County Tyrone, Ireland, March 15, 1863, and ordained, February 2, 1890. He was appointed Bishop of Natchez, June 29, 1911, and was consecrated, August 29, 1911.

4. LITTLE ROCK (1843)

"Catholicity found an early home in Arkansas, and Tonti, the founder of the State, made a grant of land to the Jesuit Fathers to look after the religion of the settlers. The French frontiersmen, however, were not models of attachment to the faith or the practice of their religion. A chapel erected at the Post of Arkansas was attended at intervals, but neither under French or Spanish rule did it ever attain prosperity."[11] Neither were the efforts of Bishop Du Bourg and Bishop Rosati very successful. Arkansas became a part of the Diocese of St. Louis from which it was detached, together with Indian Territory, by

[11] SHEA, *o. c.*, Vol. iv, p. 285.

Gregory XVI, who erected the Diocese of Little Rock, November 28, 1843. Indian Territory was erected into a Prefecture Apostolic in 1876 by Pope Pius IX, and the diocese at present comprises the State of Arkansas with an area of 53,045 square miles, and has 76 priests, 107 churches, 124 stations and chapels, with a Catholic population of about 23,000.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. **Andrew Byrne**, born in the County Meath, Ireland, December 5, 1802. He came to America with Bishop England in 1820 and was ordained at Charleston, November 11, 1827. He was consecrated, March 10, 1844, and died, June 10, 1862. The confusion of the Civil War caused a long vacancy during which the Diocese was under the administration of the Very Rev. P. O'Reilly until the appointment of

2. The Right Rev. **Edward Fitzgerald**, who was born at Limerick, Ireland, October 28, 1833. He was ordained at Cincinnati, August 22, 1857, was consecrated, February 3, 1867, and died, February 21, 1907.

3. The present bishop is the Right Rev. **John B. Morris**, born in Tennessee, June 29, 1866, and ordained at Rome, June 11, 1892. He was appointed titular Bishop of Acmonia and Coadjutor, April 9, 1906, and became Bishop of Little Rock, February 21, 1907.

5. GALVESTON (1840–1847)

The first religious ministrations in Texas of which we have any definite information were those of the French priests who accompanied La Salle in his wild and unfortunate expedition to conquer the Spanish Mining Country. But the church which grew up in that province and which has left the names drawn from the calendar to town and headland and river was the Church of Mexico. The pioneer Spanish priest was the Franciscan, Damian Mazanet, who accompanied the expedition of Alonso de Leon in 1689. The Venerable Anthony Margil afterwards worked in Texas for many years. The Bishop of Guadalajara, Philip Joseph Galindo, made a visitation north of the Rio Grande and made arrangements for the establishment of missions along that River, the principal of which was in 1718 transferred to San Antonio. Bishop Francis de San Buenaventura Tejada traversed the whole province in 1759 and on the 19th of November of that year made his visitation of the church of San Fernando in the town of San Antonio where he confirmed 644 persons. After his laborious visitation this holy bishop continued his care of Texas and endeavored by correspondence to excite the clergy and faithful to their duties. After his death, December 20, 1760,

Texas remained subject to his successors, Bishop Rivas de Velasco (1762) and Bishop Alcalde O.P. (1772), until the erection of the See of Nueva Leon or Linares, December 15, 1777, when it was included in the new Diocese. There is no record of any actual visitation of Texas by these later bishops. The Indian missions remained under the care of the Franciscans and, in 1777, Father Pedro Ramirez was President of all the Texas Missions and by an indult of Pope Clement XIV was authorized to administer Confirmation, which he did for the first time at the mission of San José, May 10, 1778. On the 20th of July, 1801, the energetic and vigilant Bishop de Porras was raised to the See of Linares and soon began a thorough visitation of his Diocese. Bishop de Porras died in 1815 and his successor, the Right Rev. Joseph Ignatius de Arancivia, found that religion had suffered terribly during the Civil War.[12] The secession of Texas from Mexico and its establishment as an independent republic destroyed finally almost every vestige of religion and "Pope Gregory XVI wrote to the Bishop of New Orleans to send a capable priest to examine and report on the actual state of affairs. The Bishop selected the Very Rev. John Timon, Visitor of the Congregation of the Mission (Lazarists), who, with the consent of Bishop Rosati, of St. Louis, set out and reached Galveston in December, 1838."[13] Father Timon was appointed Prefect Apostolic in 1839, with power to administer Confirmation, and he in turn sent the Rev. John M. Odin, C.M., as Vice Prefect. Pope Gregory XVI erected the Vicariate Apostolic of Texas July 16, 1841, and Pope Pius IX, April 23, 1847, erected the Diocese of Galveston. There are now in the State of Texas four other Dioceses, Dallas, San Antonio, Corpus Christi and El Paso. This last-named Diocese belongs to the Province of Santa Fe. Galveston at the present day comprises a relatively small part of Southeastern Texas, with an area of 43,000 square miles. It has, in 1916, 93 priests, 112 churches, 56 chapels and stations and a Catholic population of 67,000.

1. The first bishop of Galveston was the Right Rev. **J. M. Odin**, born at Amberlie, France, February 25, 1801, and ordained at St. Louis, May 4, 1823. He was consecrated titular Bishop of Claudiopolis and Vicar Apostolic of Texas, March 6, 1842. When the Diocese of Galveston was erected in 1847 he became

[12] SHEA, *o. c.*, Vol. iii, pp. 707–11.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 713.

the first Bishop. He was made Archbishop of New Orleans in 1861 and died at his native place in France, May 25, 1870.

2. The Right Rev. C. M. **Dubuis,** born in France, March 10, 1817, and ordained, June 1, 1844, was consecrated, November 23, 1862. He retired in 1881, but retained the title of Bishop of Galveston until 1894, when he was promoted to the titular Archbishopric of Arca. He died in France, May 21, 1895.

The Right Rev. Peter Dufal, born November 8, 1822, ordained September 8, 1852, and consecrated titular Bishop of Delcon and Vicar Apostolic of Eastern Bengal, November 25, 1860, came to Galveston and was made Coadjutor, May 14, 1878. He resigned in 1880, and died in Paris in 1898. He was never Bishop of Galveston.

3. The present bishop is the Right Rev. **Nicholas A. Gallagher,** born February 19, 1846, and ordained, December 25, 1868. He was appointed to the titular See of Canopus, January 10, 1882, and was consecrated, April 30, 1882. He administered the affairs of the Diocese as Coadjutor until December 16, 1892, when he became Bishop of Galveston, upon the final resignation and promotion of Bishop Dubuis.

6. NATCHITOCHES-ALEXANDRIA (1853–1910)

The Diocese of Alexandria comprises the northern part of the State of Louisiana with an area of 22,122 square miles. It was erected July 29, 1853, as the Diocese of Natchitoches. The Venerable Antonio Margil, a Franciscan missionary, whose canonization is in process, was the first priest to minister within the territory now comprising the Diocese, in 1717. In 1910, at the request of the present bishop, Pope Pius X removed the seat of the Diocese to Alexandria, a progressive railroad centre with a large Catholic population. It had, in 1916, 37 priests, 72 churches, 24 stations and a Catholic population of about 36,400.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. **Augustus M. Martin,** born in Brittany, France, February 3, 1803, and ordained in 1828. He was as a Seminarian a protégé of the Abbé de Lammenais and was afterwards a great friend of Montalembert. He came to America with Bishop de Hailandière of Vincennes and was for six years Vicar General of that Diocese. His health failing, he went to Louisiana and, in 1852, was Vicar General of Bishop Blanc of New Orleans. He was consecrated, November 30, 1853, and died, September 29, 1875.

2. The second bishop was the Right Rev. **Francis Xavier Leray,** born in France, April 20, 1825, and ordained at Natchez, March 19, 1852, was consecrated, April 22, 1877. He was named Coadjutor in 1879 and Archbishop of New Orleans in 1883, but retained the administration of Natchitoches until the appointment of the third bishop,

3. The Right Rev. **Anthony Durier,** born in France, August 8, 1832, and ordained at Cincinnati, October 28, 1856. He was consecrated, March 19, 1885, and died, February 28, 1904.

4. The present bishop is the Right Rev. **Cornelius Van de Ven,** born in Belgium, June 16, 1865, and ordained, May 31, 1890. He was appointed Bishop of Natchitoches, August 10, 1904, and was consecrated, November 30, 1904. He was made Bishop of Alexandria, August 6, 1910.

7. SAN ANTONIO (1874)

As we have seen when relating the history of Galveston, San Antonio became in 1718 the seat of the principal mission of those established north of the Rio Grande by Bishop Galindo of Guadalajara. It was erected into a diocese, by Pope Pius IX, September 3, 1874. It is described in the *Catholic Directory* as comprising "Texas between the Colorado and the Rio Grande, except that portion south of the Arroyo de los Hermanos on the Rio Grande, and the counties of Live Oak, Bee, Goliad and Refugio" with an area of 116,000 square miles. The *Directory* in 1915 reduces the area to 90,909 square miles and in 1916 to 60,810 square miles. These reductions were caused by the establishment of the Diocese of Dallas in 1890 and El Paso in 1914. The *Directory* of 1916 still retains the original description.

The Diocese has in 1916, 154 priests, 166 churches, 68 stations and chapels and a Catholic population of about 143,600.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. **Anthony Dominic Pellicier,** born at St. Augustine, Fla., December 7, 1824, and ordained at Mobile, October 15, 1850. He was consecrated, December 8, 1874, and died, April 14, 1880.

2. The Right Rev. **John C. Neraz,** born in France, January 12, 1828, and ordained at Galveston, February 19, 1853, was consecrated, May 8, 1881, and died, November 15, 1894.

3. The Right Rev. **John Anthony Forest,** born in France, December 25, 1838, and ordained at New Orleans, May 3, 1863, was appointed, August 27, 1895, and was consecrated, October 28, 1895. He died, March 11, 1911.

4. The present bishop is the Right Rev. **John William Shaw,** born at Mobile, December 12, 1863, and ordained at Rome, May 26, 1888. He was appointed Coadjutor, February 7, 1910, and was consecrated, April 14, 1910, titular Bishop of Castabala. He was appointed Administrator of the Diocese, May 18, 1910, on account of the ill health of Bishop Forest, and became Bishop of San Antonio, March 11, 1911.

8. CORPUS CHRISTI (1874–1912)

Pope Pius IX established the Vicariate of Brownsville September 3, 1874; at the same time as he erected the Diocese of San Antonio. It covers the extreme southeastern part of Texas, an area of 22,391 square miles. Less than sixty years ago this part

of Texas was inhabited entirely by Indians. The first white settlers came about 1852. Even in 1866, it is said, there was not a fence nor a railroad to be seen from San Antonio to Brownsville. The Oblate Fathers located in the territory in 1852, after which there began to be some progress in religion. The Vicariate was erected into the Diocese of Corpus Christi, March 23, 1912, by Pope Pius X. It has 52 priests, 30 churches, 78 missions and about 200 stations with a Catholic population of 87,300.

1. The first vicar Apostolic was the Right Rev. **Dominic Manucy,** born at St. Augustine, Fla., December 20, 1823, and ordained at Mobile, August 15, 1850. He was consecrated titular Bishop of Dulma and Vicar Apostolic, December 8, 1874. He became Bishop of Mobile, March 9, 1884, but resigned the same year and was reappointed to Brownsville with the title of Bishop of Maronia. He died, December 4, 1885.

2. The Right Rev. **Peter Verdaguer,** born in Spain, January 4, 1835, and ordained at San Francisco, December 12, 1862, was appointed titular Bishop of Aulona, July 26, 1890, and was consecrated, November 9, 1890. He died, October 26, 1911.

3. The first and present bishop of Corpus Christi is the Right Rev. **Paul Joseph Nussbaum, C.P.,** born at Philadelphia, September 7, 1870, and ordained, May 20, 1894. He was appointed, April 4, 1913, and was consecrated, May 20, 1913.

9. DALLAS (1890)

The Diocese of Dallas was erected by Pope Leo XIII in 1890. According to the *Catholic Directory* it originally comprised "109 counties in the northern and northwestern portion of Texas and El Paso and Culberson Counties in the western portion" (these two latter counties being cut off entirely from the rest by the Diocese of San Antonio), with an area of 109,209 square miles. The *Catholic Encyclopedia* describes it as comprising 108 counties and El Paso County with an area of 118,000 square miles.[14] The erection of the Diocese of El Paso has reduced the area to 98,266 square miles. Like the rest of Southern and Western Texas its development has been very recent. It has 93 priests, 106 churches, and 78 stations and a Catholic population of about 33,000.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. **Thomas F. Brennan,** born in County Tipperary, Ireland, in October, 1853, and ordained, July 4, 1883. He was consecrated at Erie, Pa., April 5, 1891. He was translated February 1, 1893, to the titular See of Utilla and made Auxiliary to Bishop Power of St. John's,

[14] Article, *Dallas.*

Newfoundland. He was removed in December, 1904, and was called to Rome and was transferred, October 7, 1905, to the titular See of Cesarea in Morocco. During the last years of his life he resided at the Basilian Monastery of Grottaferrata, near Rome, where he died, March 21, 1916.

2. The Right Rev. **Edward Joseph Dunne**, born in Ireland, January 15, 1846, and ordained at Baltimore, June 29, 1871, was elected Bishop of Dallas, September 24, 1893, and was consecrated, November 30, 1893. He died, August 5, 1910.

3. The present bishop is the Right Rev. **Joseph Patrick Lynch**, born at St. Joseph, Mich., November 16, 1872, and ordained, June 9, 1900, at St. Louis. He was elected Bishop of Dallas, June 8, 1911, and was consecrated, July 12, 1911.

10. OKLAHOMA (1876–1891–1905)

When the Diocese of Little Rock was erected in 1843, it comprised, as we have seen, the State of Arkansas and Indian Territory. The Benedictine Fathers were the first missionaries in Indian Territory, where they established themselves at the Sacred Heart Abbey. In 1876 the Right Rev. Isidore Robot, O.S.B., was made Prefect Apostolic and when he died, February 15, 1887, he was succeeded by the Right Rev. Ignatius Jean, O.S.B., who resigned in 1890. Pope Leo XIII, May 29, 1891, erected the Vicariate Apostolic of Indian Territory and Pope Pius X, August 23, 1905, made it the Diocese of Oklahoma, which embraces the whole State. It has, in 1916, 95 priests, 142 churches, 184 stations and chapels and a Catholic population of 38,233, of which 3,104 are Indians. The *Catholic Directory* gives the area of the Diocese 69,414 square miles. The *Catholic Encyclopedia* gives the area of the State as 73,910 square miles.

1. The first vicar Apostolic was the Right Rev. **Theophile Meerschaert**, born in Belgium, August 24, 1847, and ordained, December 23, 1871. He was appointed titular Bishop of Sydima, June 2, 1891, and was consecrated, September 8, 1891. He became the first Bishop of Oklahoma, August 23, 1905.

V. THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK (1808–1850)

When the Diocese of Baltimore was divided by Pope Pius VII on April 8, 1808, the Diocese of New York had assigned to it as its limits the whole State of the same name and what was known at that time as East Jersey. The Second Provincial Council, in 1833, to make the description clearer, asked the Holy See to declare

that the part of New Jersey belonging to the Diocese of New York comprised the Counties of Sussex, Bergen, Morris, Essex, Somerset, Middlesex and Monmouth. Pope Pius IX, July 19, 1850, made New York an Archdiocese comprising the State of New York, a part of New Jersey and all the New England States. The original Suffragans of New York were Albany and Buffalo which had been erected in 1847, Boston (1808), and Hartford (1843). To these were added Brooklyn, Newark and Burlington in 1853, Rochester in 1868, and Ogdensburg in 1872. When Boston was made an Archdiocese in 1875, the three New England Dioceses were taken from New York. Since 1875 have been added Trenton in 1881 and Syracuse in 1886. The *Laity's Directory*, published in New York in 1822, which appears to be the first of the series of *Directories* which has been continued with a few interruptions down to the present day, giving "the state of religion in the bishopric of New York," says, "this city contains two Catholic Churches, *viz*, the Cathedral (St. Patrick's) and St. Peter's. In Albany there is also a Catholic church, a neat and compact building. In Utica a large and beautiful church has lately been erected. In Rome there is as yet no church, but a lot is reserved on which one will be built as soon as the number of Catholics will render its erection necessary. In Auburn, an agreeable little town, there is likewise a church recently erected. In New Jersey, in the town of Paterson, there is also one which is regularly attended by a clergyman. In Carthage, near the Black River, a small and neat church has been lately erected." Then follows a list of the clergy "officiating in this Diocese," which consists of the names of Bishop Connolly and eight priests. After the first division of New York in 1847, Bishop Hughes had left to him eighty-eight priests and there were in the City of New York seventeen churches. Today, after all the reductions of territory, there are in the Diocese 891 churches and chapels and 35 stations, 1,101 priests; 699 diocesan and 402 regular, serving a Catholic population of 1,219,920. The present area of the Diocese is 4,717 square miles in the State of New York, to which must be added 4,466 square miles in the Bahama Islands which are under its jurisdiction. The Province now includes the States of New York and New Jersey and the Bahamas.

1. NEW YORK (1808)

1. The first bishop the Right Rev. **Luke Concanen, O.P.**, born in County Roscommon, Ireland, and ordained, December 22, 1770, passed most of his life as a Dominican in Rome. He was consecrated Bishop of New York, at Rome, April 24, 1808, when almost 70 years of age. He died in Naples, June 19, 1810, without ever coming to America.

2. The Right Rev. **John Connolly**, also a Dominican, was born at Drogheda in County Meath, Ireland, in 1750. He was therefore 64 years of age when he was appointed by Pope Pius VII, Bishop of New York. He was consecrated at Rome, November 6, 1814, and died, February 5, 1825, at New York.

3. The Right Rev. **John Dubois** was born at Paris, August 24, 1764. He was ordained, September 22, 1787, and came to the United States in August, 1791. He was the founder of Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Md. He was consecrated Bishop of New York, October 29, 1826, and died, December 20, 1842.

4. The Most Rev. **John Hughes**, fourth Bishop and first Archbishop of New York, was born in County Tyrone, Ireland, June 24, 1797. He came to America in 1817 and was ordained, October 15, 1826. He was appointed Coadjutor to Bishop Dubois, was consecrated titular Bishop of Basileopolis, January 7, 1838, and was made Administrator of the Diocese. He became Bishop of New York, December 20, 1842; Archbishop, July 19, 1850; and died, January 3, 1864.

5. His Eminence **John Cardinal McCloskey**, born in Brooklyn, N. Y., March 10, 1810, was ordained, January 12, 1834. He was consecrated titular Bishop of Axiere and Coadjutor of New York, March 10, 1844, was translated as first Bishop to Albany, May 21, 1847, and became Archbishop of New York, May 6, 1864. He was created Cardinal Priest of the title of Sancta Maria Super Minervam, March 15, 1875. (The first American Cardinal.) He died, October 10, 1885.

6. The Most Rev. **Michael Augustine Corrigan**, born in Newark, N. J., August 31, 1839, and ordained at Rome, September 19, 1863, was consecrated Bishop of Newark, May 4, 1873. He was made titular Archbishop of Petra and Coadjutor, October 1, 1880, became Archbishop of New York, October 10, 1885, and died, May 5, 1902.

7. The present Archbishop is His Eminence **John Cardinal Farley**, born in County Armagh, Ireland, April 20, 1842, and ordained at Rome, June 11, 1870. He was appointed titular Bishop of Zuegma and Auxiliary of New York, November 18, 1895, and was consecrated, December 21, 1895. He became Archbishop of New York, September 25, 1902, and was created Cardinal Priest, of the title of Sancta Maria Super Minervam, November 27, 1911.

The Right Rev. Patrick J. Hayes was appointed titular Bishop of Tagaste and Auxiliary of New York, July 3, 1914, and was consecrated, October 28, 1914. He was born in New York City, November 20, 1867, and was ordained, September 8, 1892.

2. ALBANY (1847)

The Diocese of Albany was erected by Pope Pius IX, April 23, 1847. It embraces twenty-three counties of the State of New York.

> "It was a district with a past, famous in the annals of the Church and of the border wars. Here Brother Réné Goupil and Father Isaac Jogues laid down their lives; here Catherine Tegakwitha was baptised and began her career of perfection and sanctity. Here the Jesuits had for years labored to convert the Mohawks, Oneidas and Onondagas, a little band descended from their converts remaining at St. Regis. The Diocese contained about twenty-five churches, attended by thirty-four priests, but had no institutions except an Orphan Asylum at Albany and one at Utica under the Sisters of Charity, with free schools at Utica and Troy."[15]

Its limits thus established included the future Dioceses of Ogdensburg and Syracuse. It now comprises thirteen counties and part of two others with an area of 10,419 square miles and within these reduced limits there are, in 1916, 237 priests and 174 churches, 91 chapels and stations and a Catholic population of 210,000.

1. The first bishop was His Eminence, **John Cardinal McCloskey.** He became Bishop of Albany, May 21, 1847, and Archbishop of New York, May 6, 1864. (*See* New York.)

2. The Right Rev. **John J. Conroy** was appointed Bishop of Albany, July 7, 1865, and was consecrated, October 16, 1865. He resigned, October 16, 1877, was translated to the titular See of Curium, March 22, 1878, and died, November 20, 1895.

3. The Right Rev. **Francis McNeirny** was appointed titular Bishop of Rhesina and Coadjutor of Albany, December 22, 1871, and was consecrated, April 21, 1872. He was made administrator of the Diocese, January 18, 1874, and became Bishop of Albany, October 16, 1877. He died, January 2, 1894.

4. The Right Rev. **Thomas M. A. Burke,** born at Utica, New York, January 10, 1840, and ordained June 30, 1864, was appointed Bishop of Albany, May 15, 1894, and was consecrated, July 1, 1894. He died, January 10, 1915.

5. The present bishop is the Right Rev. **Thomas F. Cusack,** born in New York City, February 22, 1862, and ordained, May 30, 1885. He was made titular Bishop of Themiscyra, and Auxiliary of New York, March 11, 1904, and was consecrated, April 25, 1904. He became Bishop of Albany, July 5, 1915.

3. BUFFALO (1847)

The Diocese of Buffalo was erected April 23, 1847, by Pope Pius IX, who cut off from New York sixteen counties in the west-

[15] SHEA, *o. c.*, Vol. iv, p. 126.

ern part of the State. The Diocese as then erected contained sixteen churches with the same number of priests. The Diocese of Rochester was taken from it in 1868. It now consists of eight counties with an area of 6,357 square miles and has, in 1916, 415 priests with 221 churches and stations and 41 chapels and a Catholic population of 310,000.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. **John Timon, C.M.**, born at Conewago, Pa., February 12, 1797. He joined the Lazarists in 1823 and was ordained by Bishop Rosati of St. Louis in 1825. He was consecrated Bishop of Buffalo, October 17, 1847, and died, April 16, 1867.

2. The Right Rev. **Stephen V. Ryan, C.M.**, born in Canada, January 1, 1825, and ordained at St. Louis, June 24, 1829, was consecrated, November 8, 1868. He died, April 10, 1896.

3. The Right Rev. **James Edward Quigley**, born in Ontario, Canada, October 15, 1854, and ordained, April 12, 1879, was appointed Bishop of Buffalo, November 30, 1896, and was consecrated, February 24, 1897. He became Archbishop of Chicago, January 8, 1903, and died, July 10, 1915.

4. The Right Rev. **Charles Henry Colton**, born in New York in 1848 and ordained, June 10, 1876, was appointed Bishop of Buffalo, June 10, 1903, and was consecrated, August 24, 1903. He died, May 10, 1915.

5. The present bishop is the Right Rev. **Dennis J. Dougherty**, born at Girardville, Pa., August 16, 1865, and ordained at Rome, May 31, 1890. He was appointed first American Bishop of Nueva Segovia, in the Philippine Islands, June 10, 1903, and was consecrated June 14, 1903, at Rome. On the death of Bishop Rooker he was translated to the diocese of Jaro, June 21, 1908. He was appointed Bishop of Buffalo, December 9, 1915, and was installed, June 7, 1916.

4. BROOKLYN (1853)

The Diocese of Brooklyn was erected July 29, 1853, by Pope Pius IX and comprises the whole of Long Island, an area of 1,007 square miles. From practically nothing has been developed a great Diocese with 535 priests, 229 churches and a Catholic population of 750,000.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. **John Loughlin.** He was born in County Down, Ireland, December 20, 1817, was ordained at New York, October 18, 1840, and was consecrated Bishop of Brooklyn, October 30, 1853. He died, December 29, 1891.

2. The second and present bishop is the Right Rev. **Charles E. McDonnell**, born in New York City, February 1, 1854. He was ordained at Rome, May 19, 1878, was appointed Bishop of Brooklyn, March 11, 1892, and was consecrated, April 15, 1892.

The Right Rev. George William Mundelein was appointed titular Bishop of Loryma and Auxiliary of Brooklyn, June 30, 1909, and was consecrated, September 21, 1909. He was made Archbishop of Chicago, December 9, 1915.

5. NEWARK (1853)

To form the Diocese of Newark, Pope Pius IX detached from the Diocese of New York the eastern part of New Jersey and from Philadelphia the western and southern part of the same State. The original limits were therefore the whole State of New Jersey. In 1881 the Diocese of Trenton was formed and Newark now covers only seven counties in the northern part of the State with an area of 1,699 square miles. The first bishop, upon taking possession, found three churches in Newark and thirty in the rest of the Diocese. The *Catholic Directory* of 1916 tells us there are in the Diocese of Newark 487 priests and 349 churches and chapels and a Catholic population of 425,000.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. **James Roosevelt Bayley,** born at Rye, New York, August 23, 1814, and ordained at New York, March 2, 1844. He was consecrated, October 30, 1853, was promoted to Baltimore, July 30, 1872, and died, October 3, 1877.

2. The Right Rev. **Michael Augustine Corrigan** was born at Newark, August 13, 1839, and was ordained at Rome, September 19, 1863. He was consecrated Bishop of Newark, May 4, 1873, became Archbishop of New York, October 10, 1885, and died, May 5, 1902.

3. The Right Rev. **Winand Michael Wigger,** born at New York, December 9, 1841, was ordained at Genoa, Italy, June 10, 1865, and was consecrated Bishop of Newark, October 18, 1881. He died, January 5, 1901.

4. The present bishop is the Right Rev. **John Joseph O'Connor,** born at Newark, June 11, 1855. He was ordained at Louvain, December 22, 1877, was chosen Bishop of Newark, November 7, 1901, and was consecrated, July 25, 1901.

6. ROCHESTER (1868)

The Diocese of Rochester was erected March 3, 1868, by Pope Pius IX. It comprises twelve counties in Western New York, taken from the Diocese of Buffalo, with an area of 7,455 square miles. It has grown from 60 churches and 38 priests in 1868, to 204 priests and 170 churches and chapels, in 1916, with a Catholic population of 159,840.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. **Bernard J. McQuaid,** born in New York, December 15, 1823. He was appointed Bishop of Rochester, March 3, 1868, and was consecrated, July 12, 1868. He died, January 18, 1909.

2. The second and present bishop is the Right Rev. **Thomas Francis Hickey,**

born in 1861 and ordained, March 25, 1884. He was made titular Bishop of Berenice, February 18, 1905, and Coadjutor, was consecrated, May 24, 1905, and became Bishop of Rochester on the death of Bishop McQuaid, January 18, 1909.

7. OGDENSBURG (1872)

The Diocese of Ogdensburg occupies historic territory and was the scene, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, of the glorious work of many of the heroic French missionaries. What we may call its modern religious history begins in the early part of the nineteenth century, when French and German and Irish immigrants began to settle in Northern New York. This region was a part of the Diocese of New York until 1847 and of Albany until the erection of the Diocese of Ogdensburg, February 15, 1872, by Pope Pius IX. Its area is 12,036 square miles, to a great extent occupied by the wooded wilderness of the Adirondack Mountains. In 1916, it has 143 priests and 256 churches, stations and chapels, and a Catholic population of 98,000.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. **Edgar P. Wadhams,** born in Essex County, New York, May 17, 1817, and ordained at Albany, January 15, 1850. He was consecrated Bishop of Ogdensburg, May 5, 1872, and died, December 5, 1891.

2. The second and present bishop is the Right Rev. **Henry Gabriels,** born in Belgium, October 6, 1838, and ordained at Ghent, September 21, 1861. He was appointed Bishop of Ogdensburg, December 20, 1891, and was consecrated, May 5, 1892.

The Right Rev. Joseph H. Conroy, born in 1858, ordained June 11, 1881, appointed titular Bishop of Arindela, March 11, 1912, and consecrated, May 1, 1912, is the Auxiliary of Ogdensburg.

8. TRENTON (1881)

As we have seen above the western and southern part of the State of New Jersey belonged originally to the Diocese of Philadelphia. The Diocese of Newark, when established in 1853, included the whole State. The Diocese of Trenton, erected by Pope Leo XIII, July 15, 1881, comprises fourteen counties of the State. It includes all the sea coast with its many summer resorts. The first Mass celebrated in this region was at Woodbridge, about 1672, and the first church in the city of Trenton was built in 1814. In 1916, it has 188 churches and chapels

and 118 stations, served by 209 priests, with a Catholic population of about 168,000.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. **Michael Joseph O'Farrell**, born at Limerick, Ireland, December 2, 1832. He was ordained, August 18, 1855, was consecrated Bishop of Trenton, November 1, 1881, and died, April 2, 1894.

2. The second and present bishop is the Right Reverend **James Augustine McFaul**, born in County Antrim, Ireland, June 6, 1850. He was ordained, May 26, 1877, was appointed Bishop of Trenton, July 20, 1894, and was consecrated, October 18, 1894.

9. SYRACUSE (1886)

The Diocese of Syracuse was erected, November 20, 1886, by Pope Leo XIII. It comprises seven counties of central New York with an area of 5,629 square miles. This Diocese also covers holy and historic ground. The Onondagas and Oneidas occupied the land around the lakes that bear their names and near the city of Syracuse was the village of Onondaga, the seat of government of League of the Five Nations. The Jesuit missionaries and the Franciscan Recollects worked among the Indians until driven out by the Dutch and English. Early in the nineteenth century the white settlers began to come, and about 1817 the first parish was established at Syracuse. The Diocese, in 1916, has 150 priests and 127 churches, with a Catholic population of about 151,463.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. **Patrick A. Ludden**, born January 25, 1846, appointed Bishop of Syracuse, December 14, 1886, and consecrated, May 1, 1887. He died, August 6, 1912.

2. The second and present bishop is the Right Rev. **John Grimes**, born at Limerick, Ireland, in 1853 and ordained, February 19, 1882. He was appointed titular Bishop of Imeria, February 1, 1909, and Coadjutor to Bishop Ludden. He was consecrated, May 16, 1909, and became Bishop of Syracuse, August 6, 1912.

RIGHT REV. OWEN B. CORRIGAN, D.D.,
Auxiliary Bishop of Baltimore.

(To be continued)

DIOCESAN ORGANIZATION IN THE SPANISH COLONIES

The study of the establishment of episcopal and parochial jurisdiction in those of the European colonies now forming part of the United States, falls naturally into three divisions, according to the nationality of the settlers, Spanish, French or English.[1] Of course, the labors of the pioneer who brings to the native the first tidings of Christ are carried out essentially on the same lines everywhere; but when this work has been done and the soil thereby prepared for erecting the normal fabric of Church government, we naturally expect to see reproduced such national peculiarities as may be observed in the land from which they have been imported. The Church in the colony of a Catholic country inherits the tradition and carries on the history of the Church at home. It is only in cases where a hierarchy is instituted *de novo*, having little if any continuity with a previously existing foreign hierarchy (*e. g.*, Baltimore), that one can look for any considerable departure from foreign traditions or for any notable originality of method. The English Catholic colonists could not introduce into their new home an ecclesiastical organization which they did not possess, even had they been free to do so; and the result was that when such an organization became a possibility, they were obliged to have recourse to Rome and begin at the beginning. The jurisdiction, such as it was, of the Vicar-Apostolic of the London District, yielded readily to the new arrangement when America became free, and would seem to have left little trace behind it. But the Spanish and the French settlers were in a different situa-

[1] BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.—The files of the *Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia* of Madrid are valuable for their numerous documents on matters connected with the ecclesiastical history of America. For instance the number for March, 1892, contains a collection covering the earlier portion of the period treated in this article. The number immediately following (June, 1892) has a letter from Pope Julius II to Padilla, the first Bishop of Bainúa. There is a short narrative in Book I, Chap. vi, of MENDIETA'S *Historia Ecclesiastica Indiana*, of which a splendid edition came out in Mexico in 1870. Pastor gives some of the facts in connection with the various Popes, but the lack of a complete index materially increases the labor of finding them. GAMS, *Series Episcoporum* is of course important, but must be used with caution. SHEA, *Catholic Church in Colonial Days* and O'GORMAN, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, barely touch on the subject.

tion. They came from lands where the Church had been regularly organized for centuries and was at the time in full canonical vigor. Moreover the carrying of that Church with them was always considered a part of their work; and a bare recital of the dates of erection of bishoprics, convents, etc., in their colonies would show how seriously they set about it. For example, Mexico became a diocese in 1530—a rather early date in American history, and Mexico was by no means the first. So that, when our Bishop Carroll was consecrated (1790), other parts of this continent had had bishops, parochial clergy, cathedrals and the rest of the material apparatus of Church life, for centuries.

There were two points in which this remarkable development touched us: in the southeast (Florida) and in the southwest (New Mexico and California). Of course, in these frontier lands of Spain's colonial empire, the Church did not advance so rapidly as in such countries as Mexico and Peru. They were still in the missionary state long after the other portions of Spanish America had arrived at what may be called canonical maturity. Yet they were not so far from that maturity as might at first be assumed; and it will be interesting to trace the steps by which they gradually advanced along the path. As a preliminary we shall recall certain features of Spanish history which must be borne in mind for an understanding of much that took place in her American dominions.

The very name of Spain is sufficient to call up before the imagination the romantic story of the war against Islam. And in truth, Spanish history from the eighth century to the sixteenth may be said to be externally little more than one grand Crusade. Beginning at the Pyrenees and the Bay of Biscay that wondrous struggle was kept up until, in the very year that Columbus discovered America, the last vestiges of infidel domination were swept into Africa. And few achievements can compare in thrilling incident and poetic setting with those that throng the pages of Irving and Prescott. But their emotional appeal must not divert attention from their deeper significance as the mould in which was cast the character of those men who laid the foundations of our Church in America. Nearly eight centuries of ceaseless fighting to win back their land and restore there the Catholic Faith in all its outward splendor had produced a people for whom

Religion and Patriotism were almost the same thing. And with this practical identification of the noblest and most unselfish of human ideals, it is not to be wondered at that the Spaniard developed qualities of bravery, loyalty and fierce devotedness which honorably distinguished him on many a European battlefield, when there were no enemies left to fight at home. Coinciding exactly with the achievement of this result came the opening up of a new field for the display of his characteristic virtues, since he had hardly rested after the fall of Granada when he was called over the Western Sea to continue the work of conquest and conversion. For we must remember that the latter purpose was never suffered to be wholly forgotten, however it might be obscured in the minds of individual *Conquistadores*. The introduction of Spanish rule was looked upon as preliminary to the introduction of the Catholic Religion. Not to perceive this is to misunderstand the greater part of the history of Spanish colonization.

Of course, in itself this was a fine thing, but there is another side to the picture. Protection always tends toward domination; and if, by an alliance with civil authority, the Church stands to gain, she also stands to lose. There is a price for everything, and in this case the price was quite high enough. Bit by bit, from the thirteenth century onwards, through usurpation, through custom, and finally through explicit papal recognition, the Spanish sovereigns had obtained an enormous power over the Church in their dominions, a power that came dangerously near to making the Church in Spain independent of Rome. The peculiar character of the internal development of Spain during the Middle Ages contributed to this result. The process whereby the nations of Europe emerged from the confusion of the feudal system was fundamentally the same everywhere, viz., the extension of a central authority over a mass of disconnected and semi-independent states. But beneath this essential similarity there were certain points in which the process differed in different places, and in the case of Spain this difference had an important effect on the character of the government of the country after the process was completed. From being the least centralized portion of Europe, it became the most thoroughly centralized and despotic, the work of combating the centrifugal forces that

were keeping the various Spanish kingdoms apart being so thoroughly done as to be over-done. The numerous petty states that had to be reduced beneath one sway were not vassals of a single king, as they were (in theory at least) in France and England, but separate kingdoms; and the wars they waged with one another were not petty feudal quarrels but real international conflicts. As there was no single Spanish language so there was no single Spanish king. Besides their geographical situation, the only thing that tended to bring them together was the need of defending their common faith against a common enemy. As a result, the work of unification went on much more slowly in Spain than in most other countries. We can speak of "France" and "England" long before we can get away from speaking of "Aragon" and "Navarre." For that matter, we must still speak of "Portugal," since that part of the peninsula has, except for one brief period, succeeded in remaining out of the union. But when all these regions finally coalesced into a nation, the King enjoyed a power far greater than that possessed by any of his predecessors in the little medieval states of the peninsula. The fine old democratic spirit of those days was gone and the royal authority was absolute. But the point to be noted here is this: Religion and Nationality were so closely connected that the overweening power of the King in secular affairs was sure to be reflected in ecclesiastical affairs. It so happened that about the beginning of the sixteenth century, at the very time that the Church was being set up in America, the Spanish sovereigns were in a position to secure from the Popes official confirmation of their power over the Church, until by one concession after another they obtained complete control in that sphere as well as in purely political affairs. During the Middle Ages, the Spanish monarch interfered in Church affairs just as other monarchs did, but the privileges they succeeded in obtaining from Rome put them in a distinct class. And this circumstance had much to do with shaping the destinies of Catholicism in this part of the world. To be sure, they went at times beyond the power granted them, but that power was so great that such usurpation was rarely found necessary by even the most ambitious. It will suffice for our present purpose to recall briefly certain specimen grants, asking the reader to notice the gradual increase in the ecclesiastical authority of the Crown:

(*a*) In 1482, Pope Sixtus IV agreed to nominate to Castilian bishoprics only natives acceptable to the Sovereign.[2]

(*b*) In 1484, Pope Innocent VII granted to Ferdinand the patronage of all the churches and convents in Granada and all the territories that had been or would be conquered by the Moors.[3]

(*c*) In 1493, Pope Alexander VI entrusted to the Sovereign of Castile the selection of the missioners for the colonies across the Sea.[4]

(*d*) In 1494, Pope Alexander VI conferred on Ferdinand and Isabella the title "Catholic" and granted to them two-ninths of the tithes throughout the dominions of Castile.[5]

(*e*) In 1501, Pope Alexander VI granted them all the tithes in the Colonies.[6]

(*f*) In 1508, Pope Julius II granted to Ferdinand and to Joanna the right of appointing to all benefices in the Colonies, without any exception. The Holy See reserved the right of approving these appointments but such approval seems to have followed as a matter of course.[7]

From these specimens, though given in brief, it will be possible to realize the conditions in which the Spanish-American hierarchy was brought into being. On the one hand there was the truly marvelous zeal that led men to give up everything in life for the spread of God's Kingdom on earth, with all the external dignity and splendor they could command; on the other hand there was secular supervision of the Church, which made the work much easier in the beginning but was almost certain to hinder it later on. Fortunately, this second phase does not concern us here; suffice it to say that, in the course of time, things came to such a pass that without the royal assent no ecclesiastical official, not even a sacristan, could be appointed, transferred or dismissed; none might enter or leave the Colonies; diocesan or parochial boundaries might not be set down or altered; and no church, school or convent be erected. For all practical purposes the King was, as the Spanish historian calls him, the Vicar of the Pope.[8] And so far was this carried that, despite papal protest, communications

[2] PASTOR, *History of the Popes*, Vol. iv, p. 397.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. v, pp. 338–339.
[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. vi, p. 163.
[5] PRESCOTT, *Ferdinand and Isabella*, Vol. ii, p. 26 (ed. 1892).
[6] LOWERY, *Spanish Settlements in the United States*, Vol. i, p. 383.
[7] ENGELHARDT, *Missions and Missionaries of California*, Vol. ii, p. 671.
[8] SOLÓRZANO Y PELAYO, *Politica Indiana*, t. ii, book iv.

from Rome were not suffered to be transmitted to America until they had first been passed on by the Government.[9]

This was, however, a later development: at the outset the system undoubtedly worked well, and explains the rapidity and comparative facility with which sees and parishes were established. Moreover it must in justice be said that the civil power in many instances used its authority over the Church fairly. In the matter of tithes, for example, the earlier prelates had little to complain of, except that they were supported by the State rather than directly by the people. As we shall see presently, when the Pope at the very beginning attempted to alter this arrangement, he fell foul of the secular ruler and was forced to yield.

Historians trace to Seville the beginning of episcopal jurisdiction in the Spanish colonies of America, and while in practice the honor may have amounted to little, technically it belongs to the ancient See of the last of the Western Fathers. The canonical ground on which the claim was based on the fact that Palos, the little port from which Columbus set out on his first voyage, was in that diocese; and in the Spain of the end of the fifteenth century such a claim was likely to be asserted and jealously advanced. Local pride was stronger in those days than it is now, the concept of national patriotism not yet being fully attained. We must remember that the marriage of the Spanish monarchs did not imply the union of their kingdoms, and consequently an enterprise such as that of Columbus might absorb the attention of one part of the Peninsula without being much noticed in the others. In point of fact that is about what happened. The first voyage of the great discoverer was an affair, not of Spain, but of Castile. Its patron was Isabella, the greater part of the money was furnished by the *Santa Hermandad* of Castile (there is no evidence that Aragon furnished anything), the expedition sailed from the Castilian dominions and returned thither, and the famous Bull in which Pope Alexander VI laid down the Line of Demarcation regards Castile as the ruler of the newly found lands. Indeed, so little did the non-Castilians concern themselves with the matter, that the splendid reception accorded Columbus at Barcelona on

[9] There are some interesting reflections on this subject in *The Messenger* (New York), Vol. xlv, No. 5. See also *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. x, pp. 260*ss*.

his first return is not even alluded to in the annals of that city nor in the Archives of Aragon. Furthermore, intercourse with the Colonies was at first restricted to Castilian subjects. This spirit of exclusiveness tended naturally to accentuate the importance in every regard of Seville. As regards trade, the *Casa de Contratacion*, through which commercial relations had to be transacted, was established there with Juan de Fonseca, Archdeacon of Seville, at its head. As for religion, the first Indians brought back by Columbus were sent there to be trained up as future missioners to their brethren, and part of the first gold mined in America was made into a chalice for the Cathedral.[10] But no especial significance can be attached to things in themselves so slight. Obviously not much could be done to substantiate any claim to canonical jurisdiction in a land where the Church could hardly be said to exist. At any rate the Fathers who went with Columbus on his second voyage received their faculties from the Pope, Father Buil being appointed Vicar Apostolic.[11] Practical acknowledgment of the rights of Seville was not made until 1511, when it became by papal appointment the metropolitan of the diocese then established.

That establishment was not long in coming. Within a dozen years of the discovery the question began to take on importance, by reason of the great number of settlers as much as the accession of natives to the fold. The step from a missionary to a full canonical status seemed to have been taken when in 1504, Pope Julius II signed the Bull *Illius fulciti* (November 15) which was intended to give this country its first bishops. To be sure, it was not the very first time that episcopal affairs in America had come before the papal court. Centuries before there had been a regularly constituted diocese in Greenland, and at the time when Pope Julius was providing bishops for Spain's new lands, there was living in Germany a bishop who took his title from Gardar in that distant territory. But to the medieval mind Greenland meant (as far as it meant anything) a part of Europe. Besides, the diocese established there in the eleventh century is now extinct, and consequently its history has for us only an academic interest, whereas Pope Julius' sees of 1504, though they never existed

[10] The rest was sent to Rome, where it was used on the ceiling of St. Mary Major's.
[11] Pastor, *o. c.*, Vol. vi, p. 163.

except on paper, come somewhat nearer home to us, as their creation was the first foreshadowing of that hierarchical organization under which we now live. He chose the Island of Española (Hayti) as the site, since it was the centre of the civil jurisdiction, making it a province of three dioceses, Hyaguata and its suffragans Magua and Bayuna (or Bainúa). But at once difficulties cropped up. To begin with, the sites chosen were not the most convenient, a fact that shows how difficult it was then for persons in even the highest station to secure clear and reliable information about the topography of this part of the world. But this trouble was nothing to that caused by the secular power. At the very outset we see how the close union between civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction could work for evil as well as for good. For King Ferdinand strongly objected to the arrangement by which the bishops were to enjoy a part of the tithes on gold, silver and precious stones. He contended that this would violate the right he possessed by papal concession, and as he refused to give way the provisions of the Bull could not be carried out. The prelates appointed were not permitted to come over, and the whole affair came to nothing.

For seven years this situation lasted. Still, despite this fact the statement has frequently been made that the celebrated Las Casas, who spent his noble life in the service of the Indians, was ordained here sometime before 1510, his being the first ordination in America. But who ordained him? For we know of no bishop in Spanish America before 1514. Possibly his first Mass was celebrated here, but an authentic record of his ordination is not forthcoming. It was not until 1511, that the Spanish territories began really to emerge from the missionary state and take their place in the hierarchical scheme of the Church. In the meantime the royal objections were suffered to prevail, the Pope deeming it wiser not to press the matter to a solution for fear of interrupting the missionary work among the natives and thus doing more harm than good.

Nothing could be done without yielding to Ferdinand's demand that the bishops should not share in the revenues mentioned. This policy was dictated by considerations more practical than a tenacious adherence to traditional abstract rights. Without implying that the Crown misappropriated such revenues, we may see how loath it would be to suffer the introduction of

such a practice, which might grow into a serious difficulty. For all during this century the Spanish sovereigns looked to the mines across the water for the means of carrying on their European wars, a need which became especially great when the Ruler of Spain was also Emperor and thus drawn into hostilities with France and the Turks. Even the interests of Christianity were not suffered to prevail in such a case, and the danger no less than the hopelessness of successful opposition in so important a matter led the Pope to agree that the new bishops should receive no share in the precious revenues. This solved the problem and left the way open for the creation of a hierarchy, which was done by a Brief of August 8, 1511, the three dioceses erected seven years before being forever abolished and an entirely new arrangement instituted. San Domingo and Conception de la Vega in Española, and San Juan in Puerto Rico, were made episcopal sees, with Seville as their Metropolitan. The bishops named in the Bull of 1504 were appointed to these dioceses, and the first to arrive was Alonso Manso, Canon of Salamanca, who had been transferred from the suppressed Magua to San Juan. He landed in 1513, the first bishop in the New World since the prelates of Gardar had ceased to visit their diocese. At any rate he so considered himself, as is plain from his language to the Home Government. With him, therefore, the American Hierarchy may be said to begin.

Keeping strictly to the line of events that gradually succeeded in establishing episcopal jurisdiction on our own proper soil, we come next to the erection of the see of Baracoa (in Cuba) which brings us a step nearer to the ecclesiastical history of the United States, for it was to this see, or rather to its successor Santiago, that our first parish belonged.

Though Cuba was sighted by Columbus on his first voyage it was many years before the Spaniards took up the settlement of the island. Until 1508, there was uncertainty as to whether it was an island or part of the mainland. And four years more were suffered to elapse before a colony was established. Then Diego Velasquez laid the foundations of Asuncion de Baracoa, and made it the seat of government of the new colony. Within half a dozen years a number of towns had sprung up, and no sooner was the civil administration organized than negotiations were begun for regularizing the ecclesiastical government. A

better instance than this could hardly be adduced of the thorough earnestness of the Spanish settlers in the spread of Catholicity. Up to 1512, the island had hardly been visited by them; six years later Pope Leo X was drafting a Bull to establish a bishopric there.

As originally created, the diocese of Baracoa included not only Cuba but also those parts of the mainland north of the Gulf of Mexico whither the Spaniards had penetrated. This would include Florida, but for a time such a connection was merely nominal, as the expedition of Ponce de Leon in 1513 had borne no real fruit. But (to anticipate a little) the wonderful eagerness to follow up colonization by church establishment was in evidence again in 1527, when Florida is said to have been made independent of Cuba and a bishop (Juan Suarez) appointed. This time, however, zeal would seem to have outrun discretion, for the disastrous outcome of Narvaez' attempt to make a settlement rendered the diocesan scheme abortive, and the territory was restored to the jurisdiction of Cuba—not, however, to Baracoa, but to Santiago, to which town both secular and ecclesiastical administration had been transferred in 1522. For the next twenty years the Church enjoyed a wonderful progress in Spanish America. One see after another was established, until it became clear that the new organization had outgrown its dependence on Seville. Consequently, in 1545, three metropolitans were established: Mexico, Lima and San Domingo, the last including in its province the diocese of Santiago. But for another score of years this had no practical effect on Florida, and that situation might have gone on longer were it not for the appearance of a rival in that region. It is interesting to note the parallel between the establishment of Spanish rule in the Southeast and in the Southwest. In both cases it came about through the desire of protecting the regions already occupied from the encroachments of an adverse European power. In Upper California the Spaniards were spurred to activity by the advance of the Russians down the Pacific Coast; in Florida the danger was from the Huguenots, who had introduced themselves into the Peninsula. Both were buffer settlements, and in both cases the antagonism was religious as well as racial.

The story of the French attempt to settle Florida is well known. It failed, but only after a cruel massacre had wiped out the settlers. Its interest for us lies in this that it occasioned the establish-

ment of the first parish on soil that is now part of our country; for the danger to be apprehended from a renewal of the attempt moved the Spaniards to make their conquest permanent. A site was selected for a fort, a city was laid out, and the town became the Parish of Saint Augustine in the Diocese of Santiago. This was in 1565, nearly half a century before the English landed at Jamestown.

Thus, three quarters of a century after Columbus first sailed from Spain, the regular canonical government of the Church secured a footing in what is now our country.[13] The beginning were small and the parish had to go through many a trial, but it managed to maintain a continuous existence for two centuries, until Florida became English. Restored to Spain at the end of our War of Independence it renewed its life for forty years until the district came into the American Union. But the story of those years (1565 to 1821) must be left for another paper.

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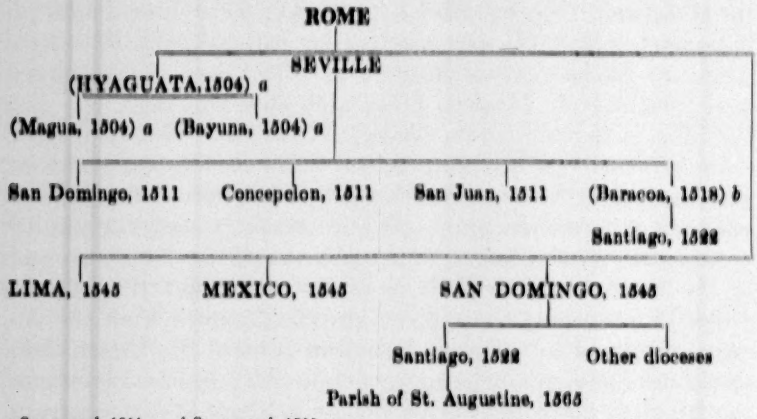
[13] GENEALOGICAL TABLE TO ILLUSTRATE THE GROWTH OF DIOCESAN ORGANIZATION TREATED IN THE ARTICLE (ARCHDIOCESES IN CAPITALS).



a Suppressed, 1511. b Suppressed, 1522.

A REVALUATION OF EARLY PERUVIAN HISTORY

In the eyes of the general public, Bancroft and Prescott have said the last word on the history of this Continent, North and South. With the majority of non-Catholic readers their judgment is final; all the more so, because it is always decently averse to Catholic institutions and persons. As a result Catholic historical research comes almost to naught unless it also finally reaches the ear of the people. Against Bancroft's misrepresentations Catholics have an antidote in their own historians; in the case of Prescott, they are mostly without recourse, having nothing equally good to oppose to his disfigurement of Catholic Spanish-American history. The latter's work covers too extensive a field to be reviewed here in extenso. But I propose briefly to reëxamine Prescott's treatment of the principal personages connected with the Conquest and the christianization of Peru, and to suggest at the same time the manner in which this subject should be approached anew in the light of modern criticism. The latter work is chosen because it represents the mature outcome of the author's historical endeavors, and because, for sheer audacity of enterprise and felicitous results, the men connected with it overtower anything the New World can boast of.

The winning of Peru and the rapid christianization and civilization of the autochtonous population form one of the most wonderful pages in the Catholic annals of this continent. If we contrast, moreover, the ways and achievements of the Spanish *Conquistadores* with those of their Anglo-Saxon contemporaries in the North, the Catholic cavalier of Castile loses nothing by the comparison. While obloquy has been heaped on the latter, and while fulsome praise has been bestowed on the former, present-day historical investigation is quite ready to reverse the judgment of ill-informed or biased writers. The ideals of the Middle Ages had not yet passed away, when the New World loomed up dimly on the western horizon. Medieval civilization was essentially Catholic in character. In order to present them in their true light, the bold discoverers who made Spain of the sixteenth century famous, should be studied as part of the civilization that was their very existence. Prescott has strangely over-

stated and misstated the motives that prompted them to almost superhuman endeavors:

> "Gold was the incentive and the recompense of the Spanish conqueror and in the pursuit of it his inflexible nature rarely hesitated as to the means. His courage was sullied with cruelty, the cruelty that flowed equally—strange as it may seem—from his avarice and his religion; religion as it was understood in that age—the religion of the Crusader. It was the convenient cloak for a multitude of sins, which covered them even from himself. The Castilian, too proud for hypocrisy, committed more cruelties in the name of religion than were ever practiced by the pagan idolator or the fanatical Moslem. The burning of the infidel was a sacrifice acceptable to Heaven, and the conversion of those who survived amply atoned for the foulest offenses."[1]

Referring to this subject, a Peruvian historian of note, E. Larrabure y Unanue, has written: "It is a fact not sufficiently understood that it was not only the thirst of gold, but also the love of glory and patriotism which were the prime movers that animated Nuñez de Balboa, as well as the sympathetic Hernando Cortez, Francisco Pizarro, Almagro, Juan de la Torre and many others. And it is now time that we should be just, without inclining the balance more to one side than to the other."[2] The picture as drawn by Prescott is dark enough, especially when these Catholics of southern Europe are contrasted with the Protestant Anglo-Saxon races that scattered themselves over the great northern division of this western hemisphere. "For the principle of action with these latter was not avarice, nor the more specious pretext of proselytism, but independence—independence religious and political. To secure this, they were content to earn a bare subsistence by a life of frugality and toil. They asked nothing from the soil, but a reasonable return of their own labor. No golden visions threw a deceitful halo around their path, and beckoned them onwards through seas of blood to the subversion of an offending dynasty."[3] Yet the imperial history testifies that these same colonists practised or were party to similar, if not greater, cruelties on the northern Indian and especially on the Negro. While Rome and Madrid took the southern Indians under their protection, the hapless African had no rights and no recourse against the caprices

[1] *Conquest of Peru*, Vol. I, p. 189, Phila., 1893.
[2] *Monografias Historico-Americanas*, p. 407. Lima, 1893.
[3] *Conquest of Peru*, loc. cit.

of irresponsible power. John Hawkins, the first Englishman to take part in their nefarious traffic in human flesh, was knighted by Elizabeth for his achievements, which consisted largely in "burning and spoiling" the towns of the natives of Guinea. The English Parliament, far from protecting the black men, encouraged the slave trade. In the century preceding its prohibition by the American Congress in 1776, the number of negroes imported by the English alone into Spanish, French and English colonies, on the lowest computation, was little less than three millions; and we must add more than a quarter of a million, who perished on the voyage, and whose bodies were thrown into the Atlantic. These figures, as Lecky well observes, are in themselves sufficiently eloquent. We have here almost as many negroes ruthlessly torn from their homes and sold into a helpless, abject, and crushing servitude, as there were Indians in the whole of the present territory of Peru at the time of the Spanish conquest.[4] The contrast is illuminating, since it gives us an insight into the mentality which ruled Prescott in the composition of his history. He may not exhibit the downright Protestant frenzy of a Kingsley, but he shows himself totally incapable of grasping either the inner soul of the men who pass across his pages, or the deep, noble tendencies and influences which animated them in their gigantic undertakings. When he notices them at all, it is always with a covert sneer. Their success or failure as adventurers interests him above all, while he is often indifferent to the laws and institutions of which they were the moving spirits and by which posterity must judge them. And in this light the contrast between the Anglo-Saxon and Castilian conqueror and colonizer is greatly in favor of the latter.

Prescott is indeed less an historian than a dramatic narrator of picturesque events. He has delved into the old chroniclers only for a thread to connect them, after the fashion of the novelist. With this thread for a guide, he weaves into his narrative those events which appeal mostly to his fancy; and he makes deft use of only those quotations—very freely translated, abbreviated or expanded—which keep alive the reader's interest in his panoramic display, while it moves to its dramatic climax. He is so completely

[4] LECKY, *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. ii, pp. 242*ss*. New York, 1892.

fascinated by the *Historiadores Primitivos*, that he is little disposed to control their utterances or to challenge the reputation they have given their heroes. He completely fails to appreciate the sense of the supernatural which gripped the very souls of the *Conquistadores*. The principal personage in the conquest of Peru, Francisco Pizarro—although "a son of sin and sorrow"—was not the base and mercenary character so frequently depicted. He and his companions did desire gold, and under the circumstances it could not have been otherwise; but they also recognized that high above gold there was a sphere in which man ennobles himself by serving God and his fellowmen. They thirsted for glory; but they desired to secure it by propagating the religion of Christ which their fatherland, notwithstanding all its weaknesses, loved with an ardor that has never been surpassed. They were first and foremost crusaders of the Faith, the Faith which, as Lope de Vega beautifully expresses it, gave—

Al Rey infinitas tierras,
Y a Dios infinitas almas.

The supernatural was to them the most living of realities, and any historian who fails to grasp that fact, fails also to understand what is best and greatest in them. He lacks the supreme norm by which to judge their lives and actions. Religion entered not only into the theory of the Spanish conquest of the New World, but it furnishes the key to the American crusades, as is evident from their origin, from the sanction openly given to them by the Pope, from the throng of devoted missionaries who followed in the track of the conquerors to garner the rich harvest of souls, as well as from the reiterated instructions of the crown, the great object of which was the conversion of the natives.

A few extracts from the original contemporary documents, unadorned by any comments from extraneous sources, furnish unimpeachable evidence to this effect. The contract between Francisco Pizarro, Diego de Almagro, and Fernando de Luque, which was entered into in the city of Panama in 1526, and which served as the basis for the expedition to Peru, begins as follows: *In the Name of the Most Blessed Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three distinct persons and one true God, and of Our Lady the Most Blessed Virgin.* . . . And, after describing in detail the

share each of the partners was to contribute to the enterprise and the share each was to receive from its successful termination, the document continues:

> "And to give greater force to their promise that they would comply with all things set down in this document, they took God Our Lord to witness and made their oath on the Holy Gospels, touching them with their hands. And the captain Francisco Pizarro and Diego de Almagro traced the sign of the cross with their own hand, reiterating that they would live up to and comply with everything entered into by this company and agreed upon in this writing under pain of passing as bad and infamous Christians."

The expedition, which had now started southwards from Panama, was almost wrecked for lack of men and means; and with but thirteen followers left, Pizarro landed on the little island of Gorgona. While waiting for further reinforcements, the commander and his soldiers said their morning prayers every day; in the evening they recited the *Salve Regina* and other prayers; they observed the feast days, and kept Fridays and Sundays, as the old chronicles tell us. Some time later, when Pizarro appeared in the bay of Tumbez, an Inca noble came to visit him, inquiring of him whence and why he had come to these shores. The commander replied "that he had come in the name of his Emperor to rescue the inhabitants from the darkness of unbelief in which they were now living. They worshiped an evil spirit who would bring their souls to everlasting perdition, but he would give them the knowledge of the true and only God, Jesus Christ, to believe in Whom was eternal salvation."

In the justly famous *Capitulacion* executed by the Queen of Spain at Toledo, July 26, 1529, in favor of Francisco Pizarro, it is declared in the clearest and most incontrovertible terms:

> "It is our pleasure taking into account the good life and doctrine of Don Fernando de Luque, to present him to our Most Holy Father for the Bishopric of Tumbez in the province and government of Peru . . . and while awaiting the arrival of the bulls for the said Bishopric, we appoint him as general protector of all the Indians of that province. . . . When you set out from our kingdom for the provinces of Peru, you will reserve passage on your vessels . . . for all those religious and ecclesiastical persons appointed by us to instruct the Indian inhabitants in our Catholic faith. And you will obtain their advice in the conquest, exploration, and settlement of the country, and you will do nothing without consulting them."

When Pizarro finally set out from Panama on his third and most successful voyage, these regulations were faithfully carried out. Five religious accompanied him; and, as befitted true crusaders of the faith, the event was duly signalized by an imposing religious celebration.

> "The banner and the royal standard were blessed in the Cathedral of Panama on the feast of St. John the Evangelist, A. D. 1530. All the soldiers confessed and communicated in the Convent of Our Lady of Mercy, on the feast of the Holy Innocents, at a High Mass celebrated with all solemnity. The sermon was preached by Fray Juan de Vargas, one of the five religious who, in obedience to their superior and the orders of the Emperor, accompanied the soldiers of the Conquest."

On his progress through the country, the commander issued a proclamation to all the natives with whom he came into contact, "that he had been sent by his Majesty the Emperor to the Indians to bring them to the knowledge of the Holy Catholic Faith, and to require them to submit peacefully to the Apostolic Church of Rome. . . ." When he founded his first colony, San Miguel, some thirty leagues south of Tumbez, where he had first landed, and public buildings began to be erected, the church was among the first to rise. At the same time several natives were assigned to each colonist to assist him in his labors and moreover in order that "the Christian might teach them our Holy Faith in conformity with the orders of his Majesty." The small army faced the most arduous task of all—the passage of the Andes; and even the lust of gold which had been so often held up as the prime object of the conquerors, made the stoutest hearts quail before the unknown perils that were ahead. Pizarro had but to appeal to their religious convictions and to remind them of the main purpose of the expedition: the spread of the true Faith, in order to reanimate them with a renewed and even greater purpose:

> "Let all take courage and comport yourselves as I expect you to do. Exert yourselves as faithful sons of Spain have always done. Fear not the great multitude of people opposed to the small force of Christians. Even if there were fewer of us and our opponents were more numerous than they are, the help of God is all-powerful. He never abandons his own in their extremity, and He will now assist us to overcome and humble the proud infidels and bring them to the knowledge of our Holy Catholic Faith."

When they were finally in presence of Atahuallpa, the Inca, Father Vincente de Valverde, the Dominican chaplain of the expedition, who afterwards became Bishop of Cuzco, reiterated and amplified the purpose of the expedition, as also did Pizarro when the Inca was a captive in his power. The deepest conviction and sincerity are evident in these different professions of their supreme purpose. This again, when Hernando Pizzaro, brother of the conqueror, had been despatched by his chief on an expedition to Pachacamac, with its temple famed all over the country for the oracles delivered from its dark and mysterious shrine—an American Delphi indeed—and after he had forced his way into the sacred edifice, Prescott himself, on describing what ensued, cannot withhold his admiration for the conduct of the fervent Catholic cavalier:

> "Tearing the idol from its recess, the indignant Spaniards dragged it into the open air, and there broke it into a hundred fragments. The place was then purified, and a large cross, made of stone and plaster, was erected on the spot. In a few years the walls of the temple were pulled down by the Spanish settlers, who found there a convenient quarry for their own edifices. But the cross still remained, spreading its broad arms over the ruins. It stood where it was planted, in the very heart of the stronghold of Heathendom; and, while all was in ruins around it, proclaimed the permanent triumphs of the Faith. The simple natives, finding that Heaven had no bolts in store for the Conquerors, and that their god had no power to prevent the profanation of his shrine, came in gradually and tendered their homage to the strangers, whom they now regarded with feelings of superstitious awe. Pizarro profited by this temper to wean them, if possible, from their idolatry; and though no preacher himself, as he tells us, he delivered a discourse, explaining to them that they lived in a false religion. In conclusion he taught them the sign of the cross, as an inestimable talisman to secure them against the machinations of the Devil."[5]

No sooner had Cuzco, the Rome of the Inca empire, been taken by the Spaniards, who now felt themselves complete masters of the country, than they set about with method and perseverance to carry out their plans for the conversion and civilization of the Indians. In the *Capitulacion* referred to above, Pizarro had been required to bring out with him a certain number of priests in his own vessels. Every succeeding vessel brought

[5] *L. c.*, Vol. i, p. 396.

an additional number of ecclesiastics. And Prescott pays a grudging and therefore all the more valuable a tribute to their labors:

> "They were, many of them, men of singular humility who followed in the track of the conqueror to scatter the seeds of spiritual truth, and, with disinterested zeal devoted themselves to the propagation of the Gospel. Thus did their pious labors prove them the true soldiers of the Cross, and showed that the object so ostentatiously avowed of carrying its banner among the heather nations, was not an empty vaunt."[6]

This ceaseless effort to christianize the heathen is the most honorable characteristic of the Spanish conquest. The Puritan, with equal religious zeal, did comparatively little for the conversion of the Indian—content, as it would seem, with having secured to himself the inestimable privilege of worshipping God in his own way. Other adventurers, who have occupied the New World, have often had too little regard for religion themselves, to be very solicitous about spreading it among the savages. But from first to last the Spanish conqueror exhibited a keen interest in the spiritual welfare of the natives. Under his auspices, churches were erected on a magnificent scale. Schools for elementary instruction were founded and every rational means was taken to spread the knowledge of religious truth. Almost before the viceroys were aware of it, the missionaries had carried the Gospel into remote and almost inaccessible regions, and had gathered their Indian disciples into communities in order to teach them not only the truths of religion, but also the useful arts of civilized life. At all times the courageous ecclesiastic was ready to lift his voice against the cruelty of certain successful adventurers or against the cupidity of certain powerful colonists. When his remonstrances proved unavailing, as they sometimes did, he still followed to bind up the wounds of his flock, to teach the poor Indian resignation under his lot, and to enlighten his dimmed intellect with the revelation of a holier and happier existence in the next world. The Spanish conqueror welcomed him, and seconded him in all his efforts to perform his work of beneficence and to spread the light of civilization over the farthest regions of the New World. The same spirit animated both, and it became stronger in every crisis. There is no need to

[6] *L. c.*, Vol. i, p. 321.

multiply testimonies to this. It suffices to add the words of an old chronicler, who in describing the assassination of Francisco Pizarro, "the Spanish Julius Caesar," as he not inaptly called him: "His traitorous enemies overpowered him and delt him cruel blows. The Spanish Julius Caesar fell overcome by his wounds. While asking for a confessor and making an act of contrition, he traced the sign of the Cross with his blood and expired." It was a death altogether worthy of the man who, when he founded his new capital, Lima, proclaimed that it was to be founded "en Dios, y por Dios y en su Nombre."

No true historical record can deny that these Spanish empire-builders were cast in the heroic mould of the Catholic Faith. With such convictions to animate them, it is not surprising that civilization and learning should have spread so quickly over all the country they had conquered, and so much more rapidly than in any other part of the North American continent under Anglo-Saxon influence. The Cathedrals of Cuzco and Lima are, in size, appointments and artistic value, superior to any church in the western Hemisphere, Mexico alone excepted. Sanctity and learning kept pace with material progress. St. Rose of Lima and St. Turibius bear testimony to the former, while the founding of the University of San Marcos in Lima bears testimony to the latter. It is the oldest University of the New World, dating from 1551, fifty-six years before the English settlers landed in Jamestown, fifty-eight years before Hudson sailed into the Bay of New York, sixty-nine years before the *Mayflower* touched the shores of New England. By virtue of its charter, it enjoyed all the privileges of the University of Salamanca, which was then one of the most noted seats of learning in Europe. Indeed almost immediately after the conquest and for generations to come, Lima was the center of learning and culture in South America.

I am aware that this sketch of the Spaniard in early Peru does not accord with the view taken of him by many modern historians. But if, in the words of Joseph De Maistre, history has often been a conspiracy against the truth, it has been so particularly in the case of South America. It is not too much to say that the early history of Peru remains to be retold, and that it can be told as it deserves only by a Catholic. There have been excesses, and there is no need to rehearse them here; Protestant historians,

to whom we have left the task, have done that with a vengeance. No character is drawn in darker colors by Prescott than that of the saintly Father Valverde, Pizarro's chaplain, and the first Bishop of Cuzco. At the capture of the Inca Atahuallpa in Caxamalca, at his condemnation to death and his execution, he is represented as "a bigoted prelate with a heart so seared by fanaticism as to be closed against sympathy with the unfortunate natives." His biography remains to be written for English readers, and an unbiased reexamination of the records will reveal an altogether different character. Their reexamination is urgently needed, not only in his case, but in the case of many others who shared in the conquest of Peru and in the important events immediately subsequent to it. Not only Americanists, but above all students of American Catholic history, need now more than ever a critical, annotated collection of the "Historians of Peru." The better known chroniclers of the Conquest deserve to be reedited with all the critical apparatus now at our disposal, and sources thus far untouched will yield an abundance of new and surprising material on this subject. The public library of Lima and that of the University of San Marcos contain a wealth of manuscripts practically unknown and yet of the greatest value to the historian. The same holds true of Spanish libraries and those of its various religious orders, especially those of the Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians and Jesuits. Right at home we have the Widener collection at Harvard, recently enriched by six hundred volumes, the gift of Edwin V. Morgan. This rich mine of South American lore ought to be worked by competent Catholic investigators.

Peru was the center from which religion and civilization radiated practically all over South America, during the time that one discovery after another was made by the men who first set foot on its soil. For lack of documents, often existing but unknown, their services have not always received due recognition, and credit has unjustly been given to government agents and representatives of learned societies who have done their work only in the last hundred years.

It may easily be seen that in this particular field, very much still remains to be done by the Catholic historian. The history of the ever interesting land of Peru has barely been outlined, and has generally been presented in a false perspective. Only patient *Kleinarbeit* among the manuscripts, both those known

and those still unpublished, can give us a true recital of the facts; and there is no doubt that when this task has been thoroughy done, it will compel a readjustment of values in the history of Peru. Then the Catholic cavalier and the Catholic missionary, who were ever in the forefront of every great enterprise, will finally come into their own.

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CATHOLIC EDUCATION IN MEXICO (1525-1912)

It is not easy to resume in a few pages all that the Catholic Church has done for the education and culture of the Mexican nation. We know of no one who has given a complete, concise account of the subject from the time of the Conquest up to the present day. It is not strange, therefore, in the absence of such a work, that so many errors on the matter should exist not only in other countries but even in the republic of Mexico, where certainly the glories of the country should be better known. Owing to the fact that we have a more extensive work in preparation in which all the historical proofs of this present paper will be presented, we will give only the general results of our investigation, without entering into the matter in detail.

In the first place, to avoid confusion, a distinction must be made between moral education and intellectual education—usually called culture; for although they mutually aid each other, they are quite different in scope. The first tends to form the heart and to accustom the will to follow the dictates of reason, by conquering any natural vicious inclinations; in a word, it aims to make a man good, honest, virtuous, social and civilized. The second aims to increase the number of useful arts, to enrich the intelligence and to broaden the field of the material activities. Through her clergy the Catholic Church has as its principal office to teach religious truth and to educate the will; and thus to civilize and perfect the morality of the world. The Church has never attributed to herself the exclusive mission of teaching the natural sciences, though it has frequently taught them, either as a means to strengthen good morals or because there was no one else able to carry on such work, especially in those places where the State was disturbed by wars or civil dissensions. The progress of science is a thing which belongs to the whole social body; and it is unreasonable to hold the Church responsible for the lack of advance in this regard, since that is not the principal aim of her activities. In this study, therefore, our attention is drawn not to the moral education of the Mexican people (though whatever education exists today in Mexico is due to the Church and to the clergy), but more particularly to the intellectual

education which, although not the exclusive mission of the Church, has been nevertheless imparted by her with so much zeal and with such a liberal hand that without her aid Mexican culture would be reduced to a negligible quantity. Up to our own time, three distinct epochs in the public instruction of Mexico may be distinguished. The first extends from the time of the Conquest down to the year 1767; the second, from the expulsion of the Society of Jesus to the fall of the Empire in 1867; and the third, from 1867 to the Revolution of Madero. The first may be characterized as an age of uninterrupted progress and prosperity; the second, as a period of general decline and of fruitless effort; and the third, as a time of reorganization, with a tendency on the part of the government to monopolize and secularize all instruction, and a tendency on the part of Catholics to give it a more liberal Catholic character.

I. THE COLONIAL EPOCH, 1525-1767

Mexico is not, like the United States, a nation imported from Europe. It is a new native nationality mingled with a third part Spanish and which, little by little, has been transformed by contact with the blood, the religion, the customs, and the scientific culture of Europe. To apply to the Mexican people, therefore, the same laws of evolution as prevail in the United States would be a contradiction, an injustice. In less than two centuries after the Conquest, the entire aboriginal population from New Mexico to Guatemala was completely civilized. It became Christian and it was organized on civic lines by Franciscans, Dominicans, Jesuits and secular priests—a great number of whom laid down their lives in this cause. The incredible exertions of these indefatigable missionaries in learning the native languages, in writing books in these languages, with which to tame the savagery of the Indians and to reform their customs, are triumphs which have lain forgotten in chronicles, waiting for the hand which will do them justice by manifesting them to the world. The entire population of the country in this first epoch knew perfectly the essential doctrines of the Christian faith and the basic laws of Christian morality. Honesty, respect for authority, abhorrence of theft, marital fidelity, hospitality, sociability of a refined order, and urbanity were common virtues which were characteristic of the Mexican people

even after long years of revolution and official irreligion. There were, of course, errors and abuses, as there always have been in all European colonies; but there they were lessened to a great degree by public morality, fraternal union of the races, and by religious unity. In a country so pacified and moralized, the progress of scientific work would have increased continually, if political and religious dissensions had not intervened. Once the country had been won to the Catholic faith, the clergy endeavored to diffuse instruction and to raise the colony to the intellectual level of Europe—and they succeeded in doing it.

Primary schools were established for the children of the *caciques* and Spaniards in all the monasteries where the friars had a permanent residence. The first school established was that of San Francisco el Grande in Mexico City, by Brother Pedro de Gante, shortly after his arrival in 1523. He succeeded in bringing almost one thousand children to the school, where they were taught Christian doctrine, music, singing, literature, the mechanical arts, reading and writing. Some of these children studied Latin and the higher branches. Up to the year 1658, the Franciscans had established fifty-two monasteries and about one hundred and forty-eight smaller residences. The other religious orders did the same wherever they were established. Among the most renowned colleges were: the Franciscan College of Tlaltelolco (1534), and the Jesuit Colleges of San Gregorio, of Mexico City, San Javier of Puebla, San Martin of Tepotzotlan, and the schools at Patzcuaro, Parras, San Luis de la Paz, and Sinaloa. From 1525, the education of girls was begun by the Teresian Sisters and continued by the Franciscan Sisters of the Third Order, in most of the eighty-five other religious convents founded in Mexico. There were also an Academy for Indian girls, an Asylum for the *mestizos*, which was founded by the Viceroy Mendoza, and the famous College of Niñas and of Vizcainas, the endowment of which still remains intact. According to the customs of the time, the young women were educated preferably for domestic life.

Up to the coming of the Jesuits, there was no College in Mexico for the secondary education of the creoles, the only exception being the school of San Juan de Letran, in which Latin was taught, especially to the *mestizos*. The establishment, in 1573,

of the College which received the name of the Royal and Most Ancient College of San Pedro, San Pablo, and San Ildefonso, was an important event in the educational history of the country. There the scholars who honored Mexico for more than two hundred years received their education, as one may see in the bibliographies which exist on this subject and in the book *Alumnos distinguidos de San Ildefonso*, written by Dr. Felix Osores. Like the Capital, all other cities of any importance wished to enjoy the advantages of this secondary education, which was given almost exclusively by the Jesuits. There appeared one after the other, therefore, the College of Espiritu Santo in Puebla (with the schools of San Jeronimo and San Ignacio); of San Javier of Valladolid (Morelia); Santo Tomas (with the school of San Juan), in Guadalajara; Zacatecas (with the school of San Luis); Oaxaca; Queretaro (with its school); Merida, Campeche, San Luis Potosi, Chihuahua, El Parral, Guanajuato, Veracruz, La Habana, and Guatemala; and the Seminaries of Durango and Chiapas. The rest of the towns did not then have a sufficient number of lay students, creoles, or *mestizos*, to warrant the erection of a College. By introducing into the country their programme of studies (*Ratio Studiorum*), which had been drawn up by a large number of learned men in Europe on the plan of the most flourishing University of the times—that of Paris, the Jesuits contributed in a potent way to the intellectual development of Mexico. Their programme of studies had the immense advantage of determining clearly the end to which secondary education tended, and of descending to all the necessary details in order to obtain that end. It was based upon Christian religious and moral teaching, and upon classic Greek, Latin and Spanish culture. This literary movement, which was instituted in the Jesuit colleges, was greatly aided by Houses of Studies which the different religious Orders had for their own students, and by the Seminaries of the secular clergy. Mention may be made of the Colleges of San Pablo of Mexico City, directed by the Augustinians (1575); S. Pedro and S. Pablo of Mexico City, and San Ildefonso of Puebla, directed by the Jesuits; Regina-Coeli of Mexico City and San Luis of Puebla, directed by the Dominicans; the celebrated Colleges of the Franciscans, Santa Cruz of Queretaro (1682), Guadalupe at Zacatecas (1707), San Fernando at Mexico City (1734) for missionaries, and

especially the Seminaries of the secular clergy, such as that of San Nicolas in Morelia, that of Mexico City, the Palafoxiano of Puebla (founded about the middle of the seventeenth century), that of Guadalajara (1699), and many others which produced renowned scholars.

Higher studies were also given in some of these Colleges which have been mentioned already, in the Seminaries, and especially in the University of Mexico, which had been founded in 1551, with all the rights and privileges of the University of Salamanca. It had a library of 10,000 volumes which was thrown open to the public morning and evening. Besides the University studies, courses were established there in the Mexican dialects, in medicine, and in botany. Charles III opened the Academy of Beaux Arts of San Carlos. The Universities of Yucatan and of Guatemala were also established by the Jesuits. That of Guadalajara was founded in 1778. The professors of the secondary schools, as well as those for the Universities, generally came from Europe. Tuition was entirely free, and, on account of the endowments they enjoyed, was not dependent upon contributions.

The fruit produced by the system of study followed in the Jesuit Colleges and the Universities may be seen in the bibliographies of Icazbalceta, Andrade and Nicolas de Leon. One thing is worthy of notice: the Mexicans of the eighteenth century prided themselves on being able to vie with European savants, who were the glory of the universities of the Old World; and the Mexican Jesuits in their knowledge of Latin, philosophy, theology, law and the natural sciences rivalled not only the most learned men of Spain, but also those of Rome and Bologna. From what has been said thus far, we can see how much credit is to be given to the criticisms we hear so often on the obscurantism of this period; one needs only to remember that in less than two centuries Mexico, although composed of so many nationalities and of savage tribes, and with a population of not more than 5,000,000, three-fourths of whom were Indians or *mestizos*, produced a wonderful variety of literary treasures and a great number of educated men. On the twenty-fifth of June, 1767, with the expulsion and exile of the Jesuits, public instruction entered into a new period which presents a completely distinct aspect.

II. FROM THE EXPULSION OF THE JESUITS TO THE FALL OF THE EMPIRE OF MAXIMILIAN (1767–1867)

This period of educational decline and moral decadence was disturbed by four different wars—the war of Mexican Independence, the Civil War, the War with the United States, and the French intervention, this last being the most disastrous of all. During this period, scarcely any educational progress was possible on account of the scantiness of resources and the impossibility of entering into the literary movement which was transforming Europe; for there was a war *à l'outrance* being waged against the existing religious Orders and the clergy. The harsh suppression of the Society of Jesus, of most of its institutions of learning, and of its Missions were evils of transcendant magnitude to the social, moral, and intellectual development of the country. All the states of the North, including New Mexico, were reduced to a state bordering on barbarism. The greater part of them remained in that state until the opening of the country by the railroads. The secular clergy and the friars were not numerous enough to take the place of the Jesuits in the Missions. They lacked the necessary preparation for the work, and they were ignorant of the languages of the natives of these States. Moreover, the religious Orders were composed chiefly of men who had been educated in the Colleges of the Jesuits, and after the Suppression they were forced to extend their sphere of action by substituting for those who had been exiled from the Missions, persons without education and sometimes without vocation. Deprived of the stimulus and competition of one Order whose activity was well known, they, as well as the secular clergy, neglected educational work and busied themselves in the administration of their *haciendas*, giving an abortive birth to those clerical pedants and apostates who humiliated the Mexican Church at the beginning of the period of Independence. Mexican society, although diseased at heart by the lack of moral and intellectual education of her youth, continued for some years to make progress, as long as the generation formed by the Jesuits lasted; but it began at last to decay rapidly after the reign of the Viceroy Conde de Revillagigedo, a disciple of the Jesuits and the first to vindicate the honor of his teachers and to resuscitate their literary and religious successes.

The University of Mexico City continued to maintain its zeal for serious study as best it could during these wars. In one of its chairs, and for many years as its Rector, was the most eminent jurist then in Mexico, Father Basilio Manuel Arrillaga, who was consulted as the leading legal authority and was a firm supporter of science and orthodox doctrine. The Jacobin, Vicente Gomez Farias, with the design of completely excluding from public teaching the clergy, the learned men, and ecclesiastical sciences, succeeded in suppressing the University in 1833; but the Conservative party restored it again in 1834, modifying certain of its statutes. General Comonfort suppressed it again in 1857, but it was reopened by Zuloaga on May 5, 1858. Juarez closed it on January 23, 1861, but it was reopened under the Regency and remained open until it came to an end definitively at the hands of Maximilian and his liberal ministers, November 30, 1865.

The great problem, after the expulsion of the Jesuits, was to find teachers to take their places in the education of youth. The Royal Decree of October 5, 1767 (inspired by the secularizing work of the French philosophers), which introduced secular teachers in the chairs of literature in the former Jesuit colleges, and that of August 14, 1768, which excluded all members of the religious Orders from the Colleges, Seminaries, and Universities, aggravated the educational disorder of the country. It was almost impossible at the time to find the necessary professors and instructors, and many of these institutions were forced to close their doors, with great subsequent detriment to the provinces far from the Capital. In the more populous cities they were able to form a body of professors from among the old disciples, and these tried to keep alive the spirit and the literary traditions of the Jesuits, under the immediate direction of the Government. Such is the origin of the greater number of those civil institutions which even today are housed in the old Colleges once belonging to the Jesuits.

During the century under consideration all these centres of education fell into decay until they were almost reduced to a shadow of what they had been formerly. This is a very serious thing to say, but it can be substantiated by most conclusive proofs from the letters of the Directors of the institutions which succeeded those of the Jesuits up to the time of Maximilian. It

will suffice to mention the Marquis de Castañiza, who was Rector of the College of San Ildefonso during a period of more than forty years, and his own testimony in regard to the decay of public education in Durango where he was Bishop. There are letters about the Collegio Carolino of Puebla and the bad state of education from 1767 to 1845 from Dr. Luis de Mendizabal and from Father Luis Gutierrez del Corral, who was Rector of the same, showing the evil effects of governmental supervision. Of that of Guadalajara, we have similar testimony from Dr. Francisco de Velasco, who was University teacher for twenty years. On the College of Queretaro, we have the testimony of the Congress of the same State of the year 1849. In Chiapas, Yucatan, Oaxaca, Chihuahua, San Luis Potosi, Veracruz, and in other cities, educational facilities were reduced almost to a minimum owing to incompetent directors. It seems a fallacy, and yet it is true, that in these calamitous times from 1810 to 1867, when religious and scientific education were calumniated, impoverished and destroyed, the men with the best liberal and scientific training were educated in the Seminaries of Mexico City, of Puebla, of Guadalajara and Morelia, where Latin, classical literature, civil and Roman law, classical philosophy and moral theology were taught in spite of the intellectual decadence which had settled on Mexico. These institutions indeed saved Mexico from utter barbarism. Their studies were still considered legal by the government; and up to that date noble lawyers and distinguished men of letters are to be found, who began their studies in these Colleges and who flourished in greater number and with a far superior education than those educated in the badly organized civil institutions, where the personnel was being changed with every change of government. Thanks to the Seminaries the newborn Republic preserved her flourishing spirit during the years of religious peace which preceded the reform. The University continued to spread its light; the National Library and the National Museum, the Academy of Language, and the Academy of History were founded and organized then (1835), and at this time also was completed that monumental work, the *Diccionario Universal de Historia y de Geografia.*

The question rises quite naturally: Why did not the clergy do more during this period in behalf of education? Simply because they were not allowed to do so, on account of the con-

stant war waged against them by the Liberal party. With great tenacity, the Liberal party prevented all attempts at any educational reorganization of the Jesuit Colleges. We need only to mention the suppression of the College of San Ildefonso in Mexico City in 1821, and again in 1865 by Maximilian; that of San Gregorio by Comonfort and the Congress of 1856; of the Carolino of Puebla in 1821, and of the Seminary of San Camilo in Mexico City in 1873. The only aspect of educational work which continued to make progress, was elementary teaching which continued spreading all over the country, by means of private schools, or because their personnel was sustained by all the partizans.

III. FROM JUAREZ TO MADERO (1867-1912)

Besides the wars in Mexico, one of the greatest obstacles to the generalization and the solidity of education was the sectarianism of the Liberal party, which spread atheistical doctrines by weakening the Catholic party and by strengthening its own political fortunes. It waged a constant opposition to any kind of teaching not its own. This party, which came boldly into power by the force of arms and not by the popular vote, has always remained a small minority, but in no other phase of activity has it shown a more determined attitude than in its systematic destruction of Catholic institutions. It has deliberately kept the people in religious ignorance in order to strengthen its monopoly of teaching and to impose its own dogmas on the great mass of the population. Among the first to introduce atheism into this official education (though not radically) was Gomez Farias with his Decrees of October 19 and 24, 1833, which completely excluded the clergy from teaching, suppressed the University, and established a uniform regulation of public instruction. On account of the wars, this system did not begin to take shape until after 1885, when Porfirio Diaz ruled the destinies of the country, and especially after the first National Congress of Public Instruction, opened (December 1, 1889), by the Secretary, D. Joaquin Baranda, and his successor, D. Justo Sierra. Since that time, all men of good will, whether Liberals or not, have tried to spread primary State education; though on account of the lack of resources and of professors, they could scarcely establish half the schools necessary for the instruction of the public.

For that cause, Diaz freely accepted the help of the Catholics and of the religious of both sexes; and thanks to this better spirit, the number of public primary schools was raised from about 4,000 to 42,000. The government also established colleges of secondary education in the Capitals of all the States and in other towns of relative importance. The number of these preparatory schools, considering the state of primary teaching and the help of the free Colleges, almost sufficed for the number of the students who desired to follow their curriculum. There was no official University and no titles of Doctor given in any of the sciences—mathematics, philosophy, or literature. Each State had its own normal schools for law, engineering and medicine; but these were often weakened on account of the lack of the necessary means. In Mexico City there were Academies of letters and superior studies, and of archaeology, history, etc. If in some way we congratulate the government for the extension and the organization of public education and for the interest it showed in spreading the study of the natural sciences, especially in the Capital and in the secondary schools, Catholic educators and their spiritual leaders, who are truly patriots of broad mind, cannot but recognize the grievous defects therein, and cannot but make the official interference responsible for the moral, intellectual, material and political destruction which has fallen upon this rich country. Moreover, this neutral teaching (sectarian and positivistic as it was) was a military imposition of one party contrary to the will and the belief of almost all the people; and it was founded on a gross ignorance of Catholic doctrines. This liberal teaching, by eliminating religion and the basic elements of all morality, and by neglecting completely the moral education and the strengthening of the will in the hearts of the children, opened a broad way to the depraving of their instincts. This liberal education was the weapon one political party used to triumph over the power of its opponents and to give employment to its parties who came to power.

It was the instrument of philosophical sectarianism which destroyed Catholic belief, by pretending to centralize the country around this liberal idea, by introducing in the place of Catholic doctrine the positivistic doctrines of Comte, and consequently naturalism and materialism. It was a spirit which atrophied the Mexican mind. It robbed education of higher learning,

of the eternal and immovable principles of justice, of idealism, of the spirituality of the soul, of liberty, of the historical and scientific value of all revealed religion, and even of all natural religion. It atrophied the imagination and the spirit of youth with premature and almost exclusive study of the material and mathematical sciences. It dried up the fountain of all literary studies, suppressing the teaching of languages and ancient classic authors and reducing to a minimum the study of the national language. It made constant and silent war upon those Catholic institutions which could in any way compete with its schools.

Let us pause a little upon this last point. Though the Constitution of 1857 allowed freedom of education, so many restrictions were placed upon the Free Schools that they could scarcely develop or bear the fruit of which they were certainly capable. For motives which are apparent, Catholic teachers had to be brought from foreign countries. The anti-Catholic Laws of Reform which Don Porfirio Diaz attempted to deal in a tolerant spirit with the whole country, left notwithstanding the teaching bodies of the religious instructors in an abnormal condition. After the triumph of the Liberal party, there was a complete exclusion of all Catholic teachers from the educational field; and although later on some of them were admitted, they were never allowed to occupy directive positions or chairs of any importance, as, for instance, of history, philosophy, or ethics. Indirectly the programmes of the preparatory schools of Mexico City were imposed on all the States and even on the Free Schools.

The validity of the studies made in the free colleges was never officially recognized, nor did the Government even consent to send official examiners to them (except in Guadalajara). These schools were obliged, if they wanted to have students, to renounce their own classical programmes and adopt those of the Government, and to send their students privately to be examined in the official schools. The State went so far as to follow the suicidal measure of making the examinations of the students of the official schools as easy as possible, and even of approving them without any examination, it being sufficient that they should have attended a certain number of classes in the Government institutions. The alumni of the Free Schools, however, were

required to make three *muy bien* marks before they were simply approved. Such was the freedom of education in the times of Justo Sierra and of his Secretary, Ecequiel Chavez.

The sad consequences of Liberal education are shown by the small number of men of letters today which it has produced. The ever-widening division among the educated classes into every kind of erroneous system of social revolution is evidenced in the writings published by the Ministers of Instruction, Vasquez Gomez and Nemesio Naranjo. We refer the reader to these writings because, as the work of Liberals, they have incontestable authority.

The Catholics were careful to preserve their own religious training as well as their literary and classical traditions without neglecting the brilliant scientific work they had done in the past; and they tried to establish institutions where they could gather together all these advantages and raise up their children along the highest moral and intellectual lines. Almost immediately after the death of Maximilian, the *Catholic Societies* spread primary Free Schools all through the country. After a few tentative attempts in Mexico City, the Jesuit Fathers founded the Catholic College of Puebla (1870) and the no less famous College of San Juan Nepomucene of Saltillo (1878), which were superior during many years to those of the government on account of their scientific instruction and their literary successes. After them came the Scientific Institute of Mexico City (1896), and that of San José of Guadalajara (1906), which gave to the country (even in spite of having been subjected to governmental interference) an instruction superior to that of many similar institutions in Europe and even in the United States. In these last years, other religious Orders and the secular clergy founded a great number of institutions for secondary teaching, for commerce, arts, and trades; and primary schools were established in the European fashion with acknowledged success. Among these may be mentioned the Schools of the Christian Brothers and of the Marist Brothers, those of the Salesians, who had their Schools of the arts and commerce in Mexico City, in Puebla, Guadalajara, Monterrey, and in Morelia; and the Catholic Normal Schools of Puebla and of Guadalajara, which were directed by laymen.

All the Seminaries of the country had been already formed on the plan of studies used in the Gregorian University at Rome; they also modelled their curricula of studies and discipline, their religious and clerical education, under the inspiration of professors or directors who had been educated in Europe. In many of these Seminaries were teachers thoroughly acquainted with the social and intellectual movement of Europe, who gave lectures on Catholic social action, thus initiating among the clergy a real campaign in favor of the working class. The Seminaries of Mexico City and of Puebla had been turned into Universities, and the latter one gave university courses even for laymen. In Guadalajara, there was a Catholic school of law as a preparation for the establishment in the near future of a University there. In Mexico City an Academy of higher studies of medicine and of sociology were about to be established.

The education of women of all classes was perhaps the one to which most attention was given all over Mexico. The Presidents, Manuel Gonzalez and Porfirio Diaz, brought over from France the Sisters of the Sacred Heart, in whose Colleges of Guanajuato, Mexico City, San Luis Potosi, Guadalajara and Monterrey, young girls were being educated in the sciences, social customs, and domestic occupations, with as much perfection as in the most civilized nations. In this work the Carmelite Sisters, the Sisters of the Incarnate Word, and many others, were occupied in the higher branches of education as well as in the elementary schools, asylums, day nurseries, reformatories, etc.

Probably from 4,000 to 6,000 Catholic Colleges were in existence in Mexico, where the rising generation were being taught their civic, moral and religious duties; and their graduates were spreading over the country a social, intellectual and scientific culture with a success which the official institutions never succeeded in reaching.

All these establishments of virtue and learning have been demolished by the vandalism of the past four years. Their libraries and scientific laboratories, their museums, their works of art, and their educational equipment have been destroyed through the rapacity of the soldiers. Their professors have been imprisoned, robbed, or sent into exile, and their teaching absolutely forbidden. No one can say that this has been done to spread culture or learning or virtue; and in consequence the

civilization of Mexico has now reached the low level with which it began in the earliest days of the Conquest.

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Among the sources consulted for this article, which has been translated for the REVIEW by the Rev. David Ramos, O.F.M., of Brooklyn, N. Y., are the following: MENDIETA, *Historia Eclesiástica Indiana.* México, 1870; BETANCOURT, *Crónica.* México, 1697; ARRECIVITA, *Crónica Apostólica.* México, 1792; J. GARCIA ICAZBALCETA, *Vida de Fr. Juan de Zumárraga.* México, 1881; *Discurso sobre la Instrucción Pública a principios del siglo XVI, Obras, Colección de Autores Mexicanos;* DAVILA Y ARRILLAGA, *Continuación de Alegre.* Puebla, 1888; ALEGRE, *Historia de la Compaña de Jesús en la Nueva España.* México, 1841; *Historia de la Compañia de Jesús en la República Mexicana durante el siglo XIX.* Guadalajara, 1914; *Costumbres del colegio de San Ildefonso de México* (Unpublished MSS. of 1760); MENENDEZ PELAYO, *Historia de la Literatura mexicana.* Madrid, 1911; J. G. ICAZBALCETA, *Bibliografía del siglo XVI;* VIC. DE P. ANDRADE, *Bibliografía del siglo XVII;* NICOLAS DE LEON *Bibliografía del siglo XVIII;* FELIX OSORES, *Alumnos distinguidos del colegio de San Ildefonso; Historia del colegio de San Ildefonso;* ALAMAN, *Historia de México.* Mexico, 1850; F. H. VERA, *Catecismo Geográfico-Histórico-Estadístico de la Iglesia Mexicana.* Amecameca, 1881; BASURTO-SOSA-VERDIA SANTOSCOY-ANDRADE, etc., *Historias particulares de Obispados y vidas de Obispos;* and many unpublished documents from the *Archivo Histórico Nacional* of Madrid and of Mexico City.

MISCELLANY

A

TWO INTERESTING COMMUNICATIONS FROM THE MOST REVEREND ARCHBISHOP OF MILWAUKEE

1.

THE REVEREND ANTHONY PENCO, C.M.

While strolling through the galleries or cloisters of the magnificent Campo Santo (cemetery) of Genoa, Italy, in 1908, my curiosity was aroused by noticing on one of the monuments there what seemed to be the outlines of a geographical map. My surprise increased when, on closer examination, I read the words *Carta dell' America del Nord* (Map of North America), and beheld the course of old Father Mississippi with a black spot marked *San Luigi* (St. Louis). Equally astonishing to me was the inscription engraved on the marble slab. It read:

M. Penco, C.M.

Come nel mondo con le opere e colla preghiera, cosi nel
cielo fra gli inni dei Santi nella visione di Dio penso
et benedico alla mia famiglia
D. Antonio di Giovanni Baptista Penco e di Anna Prefumo.
Nato in Genova, 23 Ottobre, 1813,
Morto in S. Ilario Ligure, 10 Ottobre, 1875.
Solerte Missionario in America. In patria
degno sacerdote, qual padre in famiglia.

This may be translated as follows:

"M. Penco, of the Congregation of the Mission.
As (were) in this world my works and prayers, so now
in heaven among the hymns of the Saints in the
vision of God are my thoughts and blessings, for my family.
D. Anthony (son), of John Baptist Penco and Anna Prefumo.

Born in Genoa, Oct. 23, 1813;
Died in S. Ilario Ligure, Oct. 10, 1875.

A zealous missionary in America. In his native country
a worthy priest, as he was a true father to his family."

I then and there made up my mind that, upon my return to America, I would find out who was this Rev. Anthony Penco, missionary in St. Louis. But I forgot until a few days ago, when I came across the notice again in the memoranda which I had made in Genoa eight years ago. Here is what I found:

Father Penco's name first occurs in the *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac* of 1842 in the following notice found on page 81: "Theological Seminary of St. Charles

Borromeo, Philadelphia. The institution is at present under the immediate direction of the Lazarists or priests of the Congregation of the Mission. Number of students, 33. Rev. Mariano Maler, C.M., *President;* Rev. Anthony Penco, C.M., *Prefect;* Rev. Thomas Burke, C.M., *Professor of Philosophy.*" The Lazarist Fathers were brought there by Bishop Francis Patrick Kenrick in 1841. (SHEA, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, Vol. iii, p. 568.) The same *Almanac* for 1843 has the following (p. 115): "Ecclesiastical Seminary at Rose Hill, Westchester County, New York. Number of students, 31. The institution is under the care of Rev. Anthony Penco and Chas. A. Roadte, priests of the Congregation of the Mission." This was St. Joseph's Seminary opened at Fordham, by Bishop Hughes in 1841, under the presidency of Rev. Felix Villanis, D.D., C.M. "In 1842, Father Villanis was replaced by Father Anthony Penco, C.M., who remained at the head of the Seminary during 1842, 1843, and 1844." (GABRIELS, *Historical Sketch of St. Joseph's Provincial Seminary, Troy, N. Y.*, in the *United States Catholic Historical Society*, Monograph Series, No. 3, 1905, p. 23.) The reason why the Lazarists did not stay longer at Fordham as stated by the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (Vol. x, p. 367) was because "Father Anthony Penco, who was made superior, did not approve of the seminarians teaching in the college, so the community retired from the work." At the Fifth Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1843, Father Penco was the theologian of Bishop Hughes of New York.[1]

In the *Catholic Almanacs* of 1846 and 1851 we find Father Penco as President of the Lazarist College at Cape Girardeau, near St. Louis, which rose to a flourishing condition under his care. (SHEA, *l. c.*, Vol. iv, p. 218.) In the *Almanacs* of 1852, '53 and '54, Father Penco figures as pastor of the Church of St. Vincent de Paul, in St. Louis. At the same time he was Visitor of the Lazarist

[1] It is not without interest to know that Reverend A. Penco, C.M., was the deacon at the Pontifical High Mass, when Bishop Hughes, on Sunday, March 10, 1844, in the Cathedral of New York, consecrated the three newly-appointed Bishops Byrne of Little Rock, Quarter of Chicago, and his own Coadjutor McCloskey of New York, with the assistance of Bishops Fenwick of Boston and Whelan of Richmond. This day in the year 1844, just fifty-four years after Bishop Carroll's consecration (August 15, 1790), when there were only seventeen Dioceses and Bishops in the country, was assuredly as memorable and important an occasion, if not more so, as the one when Archbishop Ireland of St. Paul nearly seventy years later, when there were already some ninety-three Dioceses in the land, consecrated on May 19, 1910, six Bishops for the Northwest, namely Bishops Busch, Corbett, Heffron, Lawler, O'Reilly, and Wehrle, O.S.B. One week later, Sunday, March 17, 1844, Bishop Fenwick, assisted by Bishop Whelan and Bishop Byrne (the latter consecrated on the previous Sunday), consecrated in the Cathedral of Baltimore Bishop Tyler of Hartford. Two days later, March 19, the feast of St. Joseph, Bishop Purcell, assisted by Bishop Miles of Nashville and Bishop O'Connor of Pittsburgh, consecrated in the Cathedral of Cincinnati Bishop Henni of Milwaukee and Bishop Reynolds of Charleston. The next Sunday, March 24, Bishop Fenwick again assisted by Bishop Whelan and Bishop Tyler, also consecrated by him the Sunday before, consecrated at Georgetown his Coadjutor, Bishop Fitzpatrick. It is truly a striking fact that these were all and the only episcopal consecrations in the United States during the year 1844, and all within the two weeks centering around the feast of St. Joseph.

houses in America from 1850–1855. Father Penco left America and returned to Italy in 1855. Bishop Ryan of Buffalo, himself a Lazarist Father, in an interesting article on *Early Lazarist Missions and Missionaries* (*United States Catholic Historical Magazine*, Vol. i (1887), p. 383), in explaining that the appointment of the Reverend Mariano Maler as Visitor of the Lazarists in Brazil had been quite a blow to their community here, says: "But now comes another blow, and not a light one. The Visitor, Mr. Penco, was called to Europe in June, 1855, and Mr. Masnau was appointed Pro-Visitor. Mr. Penco was one of nature's noble men; his appearance and manner indicated his gentle character; his presence at the altar evidenced the saintly priest. His family was one of the wealthiest in Genoa, but by extravagant speculations his brother wrecked his princely fortune and at his death left his family destitute. Mr. Penco was able to save his own patrimony from the general wreck, and educate his brother's children. To this he devoted himself during the remainder of his life, acting at the same time as chief Director of the missionary college Brignole-Sale in his native city, Genoa." This explains the somewhat puzzling words of the inscription on his tombstone, "qual padre in familia."

Archbishop Corrigan, in a biographic sketch of Rev. Penco says: "He had always entertained a very warm interest in the Church of the United States, and when he returned to Europe, continued to promote its welfare, especially by training good missionaries for America." (*United States Catholic Historical Society's Historical Records and Studies*, Vol. iii, Pt. ii (1904), p. 290.) Who were the missionaries in the United States who came from the Brignole-Sale in the period of 1855–1875, the year when Father Penco died? My former Bishop, Right Rev. Winand Wigger, D.D., of Newark, N. J., was a student of that college where he was ordained priest in 1865.

When I shall enjoy again the beauty of that Campo Santo in Genoa, I will not fail to look for the grave and pray for the eternal rest of this zealous American missionary, Rev. Anthony Penco.

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AMERICAN ITEMS FROM AN OLD AUSTRIAN CATHOLIC PERIODICAL

By pure but lucky chance I have just come across some stray volumes of an old German periodical, published in the 'forties at Innsbruck, Tirol, Austria—*Katholische Blaetter aus Tirol*. Curiosity made me peep into them, and I found a great deal of interesting and partly original historical material regarding Catholic missions in our country.

The first volume, published in 1843, contains a long series of articles entitled: *Something about the Catholic Church in the United States of America*, written, as the editor states in a footnote (p. 509) "by a man who has worked for several years as a missionary in America and has personally experienced and observed what he tells. He acquaints us not only with the religious and moral conditions of the people, but gives us much wider observations to show what a large field awaits the labors of the missionary there."

In the first article (p. 475), the writer gives a general survey of the conditions of American Catholics. Then he speaks of the population in general, dividing

it into Indians, Americans and Immigrants. Of the Indians he writes, on pp. 509*ss.*, 527*ss.*, and touches also upon the Jesuit missions among them. Of the Americans he writes, on pp. 574*ss.*, 589*ss.*, and concludes: "The Americans are a highly educated nation, a people fervently religious; fanatical Protestants as they are, they become just as enthusiastic Catholics once they have embraced the truth. The government leaves religion alone, although it does so merely for the sake of common peace and not to give preference to any sect." On pp. 606*ss.*, 621*ss.*, he speaks of the Immigrants, especially of the Germans of whom he makes many a remark, little complimentary, but unfortunately true. Pages 637*ss.* treat of the Negroes, about whom he says: "The Catholic Church has, as far as its influence goes, greatly softened the condition of the slaves. Catholics may buy, but not sell slaves; they must treat them humanely and care for their eternal and temporal welfare; otherwise they will be barred from the sacraments." Is this statement true? On pp. 668*ss.*, he speaks of the administration of Church property, and on pp. 753*ss.*, on the Church revenues. He concludes by saying: "Foundations, tithes, land-rents, and patronages are unknown in America. Pew-rent, collections and other voluntary contributions are the only revenues of the churches; with these all must be supported, even the bishops. The Rt. Rev. Bishop of Philadelphia has lately begun to give the places in the churches free and to take up purely voluntary contributions only. But whether his attempt, though most desirable, has succeeded, the writer does not know."

The same writer contributes another article to this same volume of the *Katholische Blaetter aus Tirol* (pp. 648*ss.*), which tells of a very important discussion which had taken place in the Fourth Provincial Council of Baltimore, held on May 17–24, 1840, but of which not a word is mentioned in the published Acts of the Council. The writer states that some American Bishops considered the proposition of having an American Seminary established in Germany where German ecclesiastical students were to be trained for the Missions in America. (This was many years before the American Colleges of Rome and Louvain were thought of.) Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati proposed the matter in the Council. The Promoters of the Council (Bishops Rosati of St. Louis and Fenwick of Boston) appointed a committee from the assembled theologians, who were to consider the project most carefully and to report their conclusions at one of the public sessions of the Bishops. "In order that all should be done with due attention and deliberation, the committee was constituted of men who felt great concern for the German Catholics, namely the Very Rev. Dr. Deluol, Superior of the Sulpicians and Vicar General of Baltimore, two German priests and myself."[3]

The text then continues: "We all agreed that the erection in Germany of such a Seminary for America would not be advisable, especially for the following

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[3] Who is this "myself?" There were only three German priests at this Council, the Very Rev. Joseph Prost, Superior of the Redemptorists, the Rev. Joseph Ant. Lutz, Secretary of Bishop Rosati, and the Rev. Benedict Bayer, C.SS.R., who was theologian for Bishop Miles of Nashville. In an editorial note we learn (p. 648) that the writer of this article is the same *former* American missionary who wrote the

reasons." These reasons the writer goes on to explain in a lengthy, but, even today, very interesting disquisition full of most pertinent and shrewd observations (pp. 649–652). *Query:* was it this discussion held at the Baltimore Council in 1840 which suggested to the Very Reverend J. M. Henni, Vicar General of Cincinnati, in 1843, the idea of establishing there a Seminary for the education of German priests? (*See below.*) This whole series of highly interesting articles comprises about forty pages in small German type. An English translation in our usual American form would make a volume of fully one hundred pages.

In these volumes of the *Katholische Blaetter aus Tirol* I found another series of equally interesting articles, or rather letters, which are particularly important for the history of the German missions in the States of New York and Wisconsin. They are the letters of the Rev. Adalbert Inama, Canon Regular of the Premonstratensian Convent of Wilten at Innsbruck, Tirol. I am very sorry to say that in our Seminary Library at St. Francis, Wis., we have only the years 1843, '44, '45, '46 and '48. Even these are not complete, since in vol. 1843, pp. 273–353, and in vol. 1848, pp. 681–1289, are missing. I wonder if a complete set of this valuable periodical is anywhere hidden away in some Benedictine or Redemptorist library in the United States. The volumes at our seminary contain 25 letters of Father Inama and one of his fellow-canon, Father Maximilian Gaertner. These letters are found in vol. 1843 on pp. 43, 267, 415, 440, 538, 545, 679, 765, 785; in vol. 1844 on pp. 185, 897; in vol. 1845 on pp. 38, 401, 430, 447; in vol. 1845 on p. 881, 906, 996; in vol. 1846 on pp. 158, 260, 490; in vol. 1846 on pp. 693, 813, 1089 (Gaertner); in vol. 1848 on pp. 276, 676. The entire series covers nearly ninety pages in small type, which would make in English a volume of some two hundred pages.

Rev. Inama's first letter is dated Paris, December 27, 1842. In it we learn that a certain Father Brassac in Paris was appointed Vicar General of the American Bishops for all European missionaries who were desirous of coming to the American missions. He also tells us that his next neighbor in the *Pension* where they stopped at Paris, was the Secretary of Bishop Rosati of St. Louis, "papal delegate for negotiating and concluding a concordat with the Republic at Hayti." The second letter is dated New York, March 13, 1843, and described the sea voyage and his visits to Rev. Rumpler, C.SS.R., in New York; Revs.

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above-mentioned series on the Catholic Church in America. Consequently he must have been back in Europe in 1843. Consulting the old *Directories*, I find that Revs. Bayer and Lutz were still in America in 1844 and 1845. But the last notice I find of Father Prost is that of his being pastor of the German church in Utica, N. Y. in 1842; after that, his name appears no more. This would seem to point him out as the writer of this very interesting paper. Archbishop Corrigan (*U. S. Cath. Hist. Socy., Records and Studies*, Vol. ii., Pt. ii., p. 250f.) gives a short sketch of the very interesting missionary work of Rev. Prost in the United States from 1835, when he arrived, till 1843, when he returned to Austria. It is curious, by the way, to notice in these old *Directories* the manner of indicating the religious community to which Father Prost belonged. Now it is S.S.L. (Soc. S. Liguori), then O.S.L. (Ord. S. Liguori), the last C.S.R. (only one S). The former two are probably derived from the German appelation *Ligorianor* often given to the Redemptorists in Austria and Switzerland.

Raffeiner in Willamsburgh (now Brooklyn); Rev. Kunze, O.S.F., in Bloomingdale (?), and Rev. Balleis, O.S.B., in Newark, N. J. Inama's next letter, dated New York, April 5th, is quite amusing, showing that he had already "caught on" to the old and ever new trick of American land owners. He says that Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati invites him to start a mission in Wilksville County, where a land owner offers 2000 acres free if the priest will settle there. But he says "that's only a speculation—the land owner thereby draws a large number of Catholic settlers by which the land, up to now worthless, rises immensely in price and thus the donor gets rich by his gift. But the donee also gains, for the Catholics gain—a priest." In the other letters, Inama describes the parish at Williamsburgh, and his journey to Albany, Schenectady, and Utica. Here he was to take charge of the German congregation. His letter from Utica, September 11, 1843, contains the following interesting notice: "Only lately the Very Rev. Dr. Henni, Vicar General of the Bishop of Cincinnati, wrote to me, whom he does not know at all, that he expects me most ardently; that he desires to establish a German Catholic Seminary for the United States, and that for this purpose he has already purchased a roomy building with a large garden contiguous to the new parish church; that the Council of Baltimore, however, wants a religious community to take charge of it. Therefore he thinks it is God's providence bringing me here to realize this favorite project. I answered at once that I could never do it, and that I had no such permission or commission. However, I would come there this fall and discuss the matter with him." Mention is also made of Inama's missions in Syracuse, Salina and Constableville. Another letter from Utica, October 6, 1845, has an interesting report of the struggle for religious liberty in the Central Insane Asylum, a State institution, where some Catholic female employes had been dismissed because they refused to attend the Protestant service. The letters from Salina during 1845 describe his journey in the fall of 1844 to St. Louis by way of Auburn, Geneva, Buffalo, Makinaw, Milwaukee, Chicago and Sac Prairie, Wis., where he met for the first time the family of the Hungarian Count Haraszthy, a former General in the Austrian army, who had settled on a large tract of land at Sac Prairie. The letter dated Manlius, September 6, 1845, furnishes a copy of the letter from Count Haraszthy, offering one hundred acres of land free on condition that the children of Sac Prairie have a free school, and of a letter from Bishop Henni urging Inama to come and take charge of the mission. Inama's first letter from Sac Prairie shows that he was much enchanted by what he saw; he writes: "I say without hesitation that few regions can surpass Sac Prairie in fertility of soil, variety and romantic beauty of scenery, and healthfulness of climate. Wood and water, stone and clay, lime and sand, everything needed for building, are at hand in plenty." His letters in January and February tell of his mission work at Sac Prairie. But only in the letter, dated March 29, 1846, does he continue the story of his journey to St. Louis in 1844 from Sac Prairie to Mineral Point, Galena, Dubuque (where he visited Father Mazzucchelli, the Italian Dominican and founder of Sinsinawa, Wis.), Navoo, "the new Jerusalem of the Mormons," and St. Louis, where he arrived October 14, 1844. The continuation of this story and the promised visit to Vicar General Henni at Cincinnati are probably contained in the volume for 1847 which is missing here. On pp. 1089*ss*. of the

volume for 1846, Father Gaertner tells of his sea voyage from Havre to New York. The letter of January 12, 1848, is signed by both, Inama and Gaertner, and gives a full and detailed description of their missionary labors. It also tells of an unexpected visit from an Indian chief of the Winnebago tribe, who turned out to be a Frenchman born at Bordeaux. He came to Canada where he settled down. After the death of his wife he married a young Indian squaw and settled on the Barakoo (Baraboo?) River which empties into the Wisconsin River. Mention is also made of Bishop Henni's intended journey to Europe and of the erection of the new Cathedral at Milwaukee. In the next letter, dated Sac Prairie, April 21, 1848, Father Gaertner refers to Henni's departure from New York, February 23, on the steamer *Washington*, and tells of the fear entertained for his safety in Europe on account of the revolution. However, a note of the editor (p. 680) states that Bishop Henni arrived from Italy in St. Gall on June 14, where he was expected to hold the Corpus Christi procession.[3]

Whether the volumes of the *Katholische Blaetter aus Tirol* after 1848 contain any more letters of Father Inama and Gaertner, I do not know. In all probability they do, and it would be worth while to look them up. In the volumes here there are quite a number of other interesting items of Catholic American history. I mention in particular a letter of Rev. Francis Pierz, a companion of Bishop Baraga, dated Arbre Croche, Michigan, March 2, 1843. There are other letters by Father Unterthiner, O.S.F., dated Cincinnati, May 9 and October 29, 1845; by Rev. Caspar Rehrl, pioneer missionary of Wisconsin, dated Calumet Village, Wis., November 5, 1845; by the Rev. Dr. Salzmann, dated Milwaukee, October 9, 1847, telling of his arrival in Baltimore and Milwaukee.

The foregoing pages may serve as a sample of the rich and interesting material bearing on our Catholic American history, which can be gathered from the volumes of Catholic periodicals published in Germany and Austria, at a time when Catholics began to emigrate to the United States, and when German missionaries here were obliged to appeal for help and assistance from the Catholics of the Fatherland.

Milwaukee, April, 1916. ✠ S. G. Messmer.

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FATHER NASH, S.J., ARMY CHAPLAIN (1825-1895).

> "*Nash, Michael, age 33 years, enrolled in New York City to serve two years, and mustered in as chaplain (6th N. Y. Vol. Inf.), June 5, 1861, mustered out with the regiment, June 25, 1863, at New York City; commissioned chaplain October 25, 1861, with rank from June 5, 1861.*"[4]

This is the brief official record of the Rev. Michael A. Nash, S.J., who volunteered as Chaplain of the 6th New York Regiment of Infantry—better

[3] Bishop Henni was a fellow native and pupil of Bishop Peter Mirer of St. Gall, Switzerland. On his second visit to St. Gall in the summer of 1862, I had the honor of serving Bishop Henni's Mass in the Cathedral, being at that time a student in the *petit seminaire* of St. Gall.

[4] **Phisterer,** *New York in the War of the Rebellion,* 3d edition, Vol. ii, p. 1786. Albany, 1912.

known, perhaps, as "Billy Wilson's Zouaves,"—and who served with that command from June 5, 1861, to June 25, 1863, ministering to the men and officers, who idolized him, and accompanying them through all their encampments, marches, battles, sieges and sufferings during their two years' campaign in the trying climate of the far South.

Father Nash was thirty-six, and not thirty-three years old when be became chaplain of this noted regiment. He was born in Kilkenny, Ireland, September 29, 1825. He was five years old when his parents emigrated to America and settled near Louisville, Ky. In due time he entered St. Mary's College, which had been founded by the western missionary, Father William Byrne, and which was then in charge of the Jesuits. Later Father Nash taught here under Father Evremond, S.J. He joined the Society of Jesus in Louisville, April 13, 1844, in his nineteenth year.

In 1846, the Kentucky Jesuits were invited by Bishop Hughes to take charge of St. John's College and Seminary at Fordham, N. Y., which had been opened on June 24, 1841, in the old Rose Hill Manor house, then outside the city, and there the future army chaplain was appointed Prefect of Studies under the presidency of Father Augustus J. Thebaud, S.J. The following year he was sent by his superiors to the Holy Name school which had been recently opened in the city by Father John Ryan, S.J., and when school and church were destroyed by fire, January 22, 1848, the classes were continued in the basement of old St. James' Church, on James Street, until the following May when new quarters were found for it at No. 77 Third Avenue. This was the cradle of the famous St. Francis Xavier's College on West 16th Street; for Father Ryan removed the school, November 25, 1850, to the present site of the College, which he built later and of which he was president until 1855.

Father Nash was his assistant in the inauguaration of the Holy Name school and in the founding of St. Francis Xavier's, where he was a member of the faculty until he was again sent to St. John's, Fordham, as Prefect and in order to complete his philosophical course. After a prefecture of four years, his superiors sent him to the scholasticate at Laval, France. He finished his course there, and studied at Paderborn, Germany, where he was ordained August 18, 1859. After spending some time at the house of the Jesuits at Feldkirchen, he returned, being recalled to New York on the outbreak of the war. He was in his tertianship at Frederick, Md., when he was informed that Col. Wilson needed a chaplain for a regiment that was not composed of saints but in which there were many Catholics. He visited the camp on Staten Island in April, 1861, where the regiment was being organized and offered his services. He was warmly welcomed, particularly by the Catholic officers, among whom were Lieut. Col. Michael Cassidy, Dr. Edmund Lynch, assistant surgeon, Captains M. E. Bradley, Robert Mahan, Peter Duffy, Henry Dufraine, A. H. McCormack, and Lieutenants Patrick and Thomas Duffy. He was mustered in with the regiment on June 5, 1861, and on the fifteenth of June sailed with his command to Santa Rosa Island, Florida, where they began a hard campaign of two years, inaugurated under the scorching rays of a southern sun. The regiment served at Camp Brown, Santa Rosa, Fort Jefferson, and at Pensacola, in the military department of the South; in the department of the Gulf; in the first brigade of

Dwight's division; and in the first brigade, fourth division, nineteenth army corps. Father Nash was with it always, serving continuously without furlough or leave of absence until the regiment's term of enlistment had expired.

Besides his reports to his superiors, Father Nash was a faithful and interesting correspondent of some old friends and benefactors in New York, who occasionally sent him clothing, supplies, and delicacies for himself and his "boys," and from a score of such letters he speaks now through the following extracts:

CAMP BROWN, SANTA ROSA, FLA., SEPTEMBER 9, 1861.

I am burnt as black as a negro and have a long flowing beard as grey as though I were sixty. I wear a blue flannel shirt and trousers, and the heat is so intense that the men and officers go in négligé. Not one of us has slept in a bed or seen a house since we left New York. Give me the clear open air with the starry heavens for a roof and a blanket to wrap myself up in, so the snakes and lizards can not get at me, and the soft side of a plank for a bed. The soldiers say that if they had not Mass they could hardly believe they are men. My men attend well to their religious duties, but are suffering from dysentery which is now taking a serious turn in our camp. We buried two officers from a man-of-war the other day. We do not know when the battle will begin. Our officers are trying to draw them into a fight but they will not take. We burnt their docks but they did not notice it; we blazed away at them but there was no response. Our guns are always loaded and ready and the men are kept at their posts day and night. The fleet is in the offing with steam up prepared to shell them across our island. When they fire the whistling of the shells and the roar of the guns make one think of the day of judgment. Pray for peace if only to have the merit of asking Our Lord to stop the carnage. Our camp was flooded by recent rains and my great concern was to keep my little chapel dry. I have two little drummer boys as altar boys and the little chaps are always on hand. One of them has been ordered to accompany a detail of one humdred of our men to Fort Jefferson, Tortugas. Shall I ever see them again? It was really encouraging to see these boys, about ten years old, marching across the burning sands to the beach and rolling their drums calling the men to Mass from the ships at anchor two miles off from the camp.

SANTA ROSA CAMP, OCTOBER 7, 1861.

I am sending some shells which I gathered on the beach of Santa Rosa under the hundreds of guns that bristle through the frowning walls of Fort Pickens. We are now used to other kind of shells. Not long ago some of our men went over the bay to the enemy's shore and burnt their only man-of-war. I was very busy in my confessional before the start. The detachment rowed off though the enemy had 145 guns bearing on them. Presently we saw the flash of the guns and the battle was on half a mile from where we stood. Our men routed the enemy back into the town, spiked their guns and burnt their ships and were back in camp before daylight. I wondered and hoped that there was a priest to shrive their wounded and dying and imagine my feelings when I was told it was impossible for me to render any aid. A deserter who had come over to us told me that they were burying the dead all the next day.

CAMP BROWN, SANTA ROSA, FLA., OCTOBER 30, 1861.

Since the last bloody engagement I have had no rest, being on duty almost day and night attending to my poor boys. About two thousand of the enemy fell upon us while asleep, set fire to our tents and fired volley after volley into us as we fled

from the flames. I do not know how we escaped annihilation, except by the mercy of God. The bullets whistled by my ears like mosquitoes. My drummer boys escaped but lost their drums. Our poor soldiers fell thick and fast about me and I had more to do in ministering to them than in any mission I ever gave. I found a young corporal of our regiment prostrate behind one of the sand banks. He recognized me and said: "Father, I am going fast. I am not a Catholic and I want to be baptized before I die." I consoled him and was about to start to the beach for water, when he cried: "O, Father, don't leave me, don't leave me!" He took my hand and pressed it to his lips and I had to tear myself free from his grasp. I ran to the beach, soaked my handkerchief in the sea water and pressed enough on his pallid brow to make him a child of God. I then told him I had to go as many another poor fellow like him needed me. He again took hold of my sleeve begging me not to leave him. saying: "They are all Catholics and know how to die," and as his strength was fast ebbing I staid a few moments when his poor soul left the scenes of war and strife and blood to take up its abode in the city of eternal peace.

The tide of battle had turned and our troops got the upper hand and put the enemy to flight. Returning from the pursuit our men sent out carts from the fort and brought back the dead and wounded. We found our camp in ashes and it was then midday and we had not broken our fast. After coffee we began to prepare to bury the dead. It was late that night when all the corpses were gathered in and our late enemies separated from our own, all names and addresses were taken where possible. There they lay, covered with blood and wounds their uniforms torn. It was a ghastly sight. No coffin to receive them, no wife or mother to prepare their loved ones for their final repose; but after stern military usage they were consigned to mother earth just as they lay. My little drummers borrowed drums from the fort and with muffled drums and mournful fifes we marched at the dead of night to the spot selected for their last resting-place. How easy it was for me, tired and worn out as I was, to preach the funeral of these dead soldiers all gallant fellows sent untimely to meet their God. The sand was filled in on the common grave, the last volley of farewell was fired over friend and foe, and as taps sounded far over the waters we took our leave and returned to camp about midnight. This is the feast of the Blessed Alphonsus Rodriguez, but I was deprived of the comfort of offering the Holy Sacrifice as all my effects, vestments, chalice, altar furnishings, were burnt up. I have written to St. Francis Xavier's for a new outfit but it has not arrived as yet.

CAMP LINCOLN, SANTA ROSA ISLAND, JANUARY 15, 1862.

Two bombardments and several skirmishes have taken place since my last, in which we lost a number of men. My heart was sick at seeing so many hurried so suddenly into eternity. One morning I saw nine men killed, five having had their heads blown clean off them. I myself was in constant danger and moreover in poor health. Yet the thought of dying here without seeing a priest or having the last Sacraments is frightful. After a good deal of trouble I obtained permission to go to Key West where I could see a priest and make my confession. As I intended before returning to visit all the naval and military stations on the Gulf, I brought with me everything requisite for the celebration of Holy Mass, but, alas! all fell overboard and though recovered the vestments are nearly ruined, but perhaps good enough for camp life. After a journey of five hundred miles I at last reached Key West and had the pleasure of once more seeing a priest. How good God is! There, now, I made my confession, perhaps the last I shall ever make. Whilst waiting for a steamer to take me back to my post of duty I was requested to give

a mission to the people, the soldiers and sailors of Key West. Thanks be to God, all succeeded admirably and the devotions were largely attended. I preached twice a day and heard confessions at all times. There are many war vessels at anchor in the harbor and nearly all the sailors and soldiers are Catholics. Their attendance and devotion are beyond all praise. One evening I was so beat out and sick that I could not preach but the good people took such tender care of me that I was able to resume my work the next morning. Then, just after Mass an officer from the fort came to inform me that a man-of-war was just starting and that I had not a moment to lose. Off I started without breakfast but the good people saw me and came to thank me for the good they said I had done their husbands, as if it was not God's work. A cutter was ready to take me out to the ship and the jolly Jack tars were delighted to have a "Father" with them and soon they had me aboard of the man-of-war.

I found that it was to cruise after privateers and that gave me a splendid chance to do something for the 600 marines and sailors in her ship's complement. We set sail just as a terrific storm came up that threatened us all, but our Blessed Mother and the guardian angels watched over us and we weathered the gale. Every vessel that came in sight was chased in the hope of catching some of the privateers and I was surprised with what animation and rapidity everything was prepared for a possible battle. The decks were cleared, the guns loaded and shoved out and every man stood to his post as we bore down on any poor craft with all the speed of steam. I reached the camp in due time only to learn that there had been a great fight after my departure in which one of our men was killed. They told me that while dying he called out piteously for me though I was five hundred miles away. He was one I could not get to go to confession; how is it that they won't go to the Sacraments when they can? Our Lord said to the Pharisees who refused to do as he told them: "You will seek me and you shall not find me and you shall die in your sins." Wonderful are the ways of God! What matters the world with its sufferings and its pleasures? I hope no one will have sympathy for me but I ask all your prayers that I may profit by the sufferings the Lord is good enough to send me.

(In the opening of the above letter Father Nash told his correspondent that a box of clothing that had been sent to him and which arrived in his absence, had been rifled. His postscript to the letter is as follows: "Please do not mention to any one about the box being opened. It would be against charity. I had to tell you but you must not tell anyone else.")

CAMP LINCOLN, SANTA ROSA ISLAND, FEBRUARY 2, 1862.

I forgot to say that when I was at Key West there was only one priest there and strange to say he had not seen a priest in seven months. So both of us had an opportunity to approach the Sacrament of Penance. Wonderful the ways of the Almighty! I am very weak and may have to come home. I have had a letter from Father Tellier who writes me I am free to go or stay, that I must use my own judgment. Yet, I can not bring myself to leave my poor men, though I am not well. If we serve God faithfully all will be right. This life is short, but another is at hand that will be eternal.

ALEXANDRIA PARISH RAPIDS, LOUISIANA, MAY 12, 1863.

I received your letter after I had left Baton Rouge. It was handed to me at Little Bayou Boeuf, just before a battle. Since the ninth of March we have had the most terrific marching and fighting. We have marched 500 miles and fought seven battles not to speak of living on two hardtacks a day and two tins of coffee, and sometimes no coffee. In our last battle the fighting lasted for two days and a

night and our killed and wounded numbered about 400. I never witnessed anything equal to its horrors. Our men were in an open plain while the enemy were concealed in a woods with a full view of our position. Through shot and shell our men advanced and towards evening were the victors. But with what a fearful loss of life and what work remained for me to do. One young man from Long Island named Greenwood, a Protestant, lay mortally wounded right under the enemy's battery. His arm had been shot off and as I was about to venture to get to him two soldiers dragged me back and volunteered to bring him in. It was a noble act and they succeeded. "Father," said he, as a surgeon went to work on him, "I'm not a Catholic but I wish to become one. I am soon to die; I know it; hurry, hurry, or you won't have time." I baptized him while his horrible wounds were being sewed up and he bore the pain like a hero. He lived until the next day and died when I was thirty miles away on another errand. The boys are glad that their term of service is nearly up and that they may see their friends at home once more. We are all like so many Indians, nearly black, and our clothing is all torn and ragged and they'll be grateful for any change. At the last battle my trunk and everything in it, including vestments, etc., was lost, left behind by mistake. One great regret is that it contained my history of the regiment I have learned to love, which history I had kept, day by day, since we left New York.

From the above extracts from a voluminous correspondence it will be seen that Father Nash was one of the ideal army chaplains whom the Church furnished to North and South during the War of the Rebellion; that he was devoted to duty to which he clung to the last though physically unfit; and that like a good soldier he stood to his post to the end with a supreme confidence in Divine Providence which is visible in all his letters.

He reached New York with the regiment, was mustered out of the service and bade farewell to his "boys" on June 25, 1863. After recuperating during the summer of that year, he was for a third time assigned to duty as Prefect at St. John's College, Fordham, where he remained for the next year. He was then sent to St. Stanislaus novitiate of the Jesuits, at Guelph, Canada, and served successively at St. Joseph's, Troy, N. Y., at St. Mary's, Montreal, at St. Francis Xavier's, as a member of the Jesuits' missionary band, at St. Michael's, Buffalo, N. Y., and again for nine years at Troy, from 1874 to 1888, with the exception of one year at St. Francis Xavier's, and three years at St. Lawrence's Church, New York. He was appointed spiritual director of Holy Cross College in 1892, and there celebrated the golden jubilee of his admission into the Society of Jesus. He returned to Troy two years later and died there September 6, 1895, in his seventieth year.

In his *Register of the Clergy Laboring in the Archdiocese of New York*, Archbishop Corrigan pays the following tribute to the one-time chaplain of Billy Wilson's Zouaves:

"Father Nash was a brave man and was always ready for a daring expedition. He was thus eminently suited as chaplain of the Wilson Zouaves, who were composed of the roughest element of New York. He was loved and respected by men and officers, and in turn he would never allow any one to say a word against them. Though Father Nash was not a preacher his retreats to sodalities of men and women

and to religious communities were most successful. His hearers liked his military style and he made use of his military knowledge to encourage and urge on souls in the fight against themselves and the archenemy of mankind. He was a worker and used his leisure moments to translate a number of books from French and German. Father Nash was an exact religious, was much loved by the poor wherever he went, and did not spare himself in laboring for them."[5]

JAMES A. ROONEY, LL.D.

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[5] **Corrigan,** *Register of the Clergy,* in *Historical Records and Studies,* Vol. vi, part 2, p. 194.

DOCUMENTS

A VANISHED BISHOPRIC OF OHIO

Almost twenty years have passed since the venerable President of the United States Catholic Historical Society, of New York, Dr. Charles G. Herbermann, contributed to the *Historical Records and Studies* (Vol. i (1899), pp. 77–97) an article of great merit on *A French Emigré Colony in the United States* (1789–93). The story he tells in these pages is one of the most fascinating incidents of our colonial Catholic history, and though several attempts have been made to fill in the *lacunae* which occur in the article, it remains substantially the best account we have of this marvelous scheme. John Finley's recent volume, *The French in the Heart of America* (New York, 1915), is silent on this French Catholic Colony on the banks of the Ohio, and it is to be regretted that he neglected to treat it, for it would have glowed with renewed interest under the facile pen of one so sympathetic to the subject. It was not the first time since the coming of Champlain that the French had tried to found an empire within the borders of the present territory of the United States, and the story of the Scioto Company has a pathetic appeal to the historical student in this, that, when the settlers of Gallipolis and Marietta gave up the attempt and left for St. Louis, New Orleans, and elsewhere, it was the beginning of the end of French influence in that great territory of the Mississippi Valley which they had once so gloriously controlled.

"The active part taken by Lafayette, Rochambeau, d'Estaing, Barnave, and many other French noblemen in the War of Independence, the alliance of France with our Revolutionary forefathers, and the enthusiastic admiration of the young republic, ardently proclaimed by many of their countrymen, could not fail to direct the attention of the French to the United States as a desirable home."[1] Prominent among these was M. du Val d'Esprémesnil, one of the leaders of the Scioto Company, which had succeeded in obtaining from the Ohio Land Company a vast territory of about three million acres, situated between the Ohio and Scioto Rivers.[2] An office was opened in Paris, where the American directors of the company were represented by an English engineer,

[1] HERBERMANN, *loc. cit.* Cf. M. HENRI CARRÉ in the *Revue de Paris*, May 15, 1898. Other sources for the history of the Scioto Company will be found in VOLNEY, *Tableau du Climat et du Sol des Etats-Unis d'Amérique*, Paris, 1803; Eng. trans. London, 1804; *Virginia Gazette*, for May 6, 1790; ROBIN, *New Travels in America*, Eng. trans. Phila., 1783; BRISSOT DE WARVILLE, *Nouveau Voyage dans les Etats-Unis de l'Amérique septentrionale fait en* 1788, Paris, 1791, three volumes; HUTCHINS, *Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina Comprehending the Rivers Ohio, Kenhawa, Scioto, etc., etc.*, London, 1778; DILHET, *Etat de l'Eglise*, Paris, 1796; SPALDING, *Life of Flaget*, Louisville, 1852; *Ohio*, article in the *North American Review*, Vol. xiii (1841), pp. 320–60; BELOTE, *The Scioto Speculation and the French Settlement at Gallipolis*, Cincinnati, 1907.

[2] Cf. *American State Papers*, Vol. i, p. 29, *Public Lands*. Washington, 1834. "Nothing was talked of in every social circle, but the paradise that was opened for Frenchmen in the western wilderness; the free and happy life to be led on the blissful banks of the Scioto," HOWE, *Historical Collections of Ohio*, p. 178. Cincinnati, 1847.

William Playfair.[3] Among the French shareholders we find mentioned, besides d'Esprémesnil, the Marquis de Marnesia, the Marquis de Gaville, Viscount de Malartic, Baron de la Bretèche, De Lally, Mounier, Malonet, De Vichy, De Maubranche, Thiébaut, and Madame de Laval. D'Esprémesnil was the heart of the company, and in his plans for this colony at Gallipolis, the settlement of which had been begun by the American promoters in preparation for the coming of the émigrés, he determined to resurrect the spiritual and religious life of his nation that had been swallowed up in the chaos of the French Revolution, which was then high on the road towards its worst excesses. The first emigrants for this colonial dream of empire, in what was then a wilderness, left Havre, on May 26, 1790, and numbered in all 139 persons. These were followed by many others, and during the first half of the year 1790, more than a thousand French colonists reached the United States under the guidance of the Scioto Company. By December, 1790, most of them were gathered at Gallipolis and Marietta.[4] But disaster was soon to fall upon the luckless emigrants. When these lands were sold to the Scioto Company, the Indians were still in possession of them, and the French emigrants were soon made to understand that they could only keep the land they had bought by buying it a second time from the Indians themselves. The colonists then made appeal to the American Government, and General St. Clair, with a regiment of 3,000 soldiers, was sent to drive the Indians from the territory. The sad defeat which followed, in which nearly one-half of his troops were killed and scalped by the Indians, placed the sign-manual of failure on the enterprise, and part of the colonists went to New Orleans, part to the North, and part to St. Louis.[5] Some of the inhabitants of Gallipolis took refuge in Virginia; and others, led by Marnesia, founded the settlement called *Asylum*, near Pittsburgh.

Dr. Herbermann has scarcely touched one important historical fact in his narrative—the appointment of the Benedictine Dom Didier as Prefect-Apostolic of this projected French empire. Didier's appointment, which Shea wrongly construes as another evidence of the confusion in ecclesiastical jurisdiction caused by the interference of Propaganda,[6] was wholly in keeping with canon

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[3] In May or June, 1788, Joel Barlow, the political Pamphleteer, went to Paris as agent of the mother-company, the Ohio Company, and under his facile and poetic pen, glowing prospectuses of the Scioto Valley were sent broadcast throughout France. Some of the phrases he used in the proposals show how badly the stockholders were deceived—"frost even in winter almost entirely unknown . . . a river . . . abounding in excellent fish of a vast size . . . noble forests, consisting of trees that spontaneously produce sugar . . . a plant that yields ready-made candles . . . no taxes to pay . . . no military services. . . ." And all this of a land that was reeking with swamp fevers and malaria!

[4] Marietta received its name from General Farnum, who planned the future French city on the Ohio, in July, 1788, in honor of Marie Antoinette. De Warville says of Farnum: "—il portait si loin sa haine contre les Anglais, qu'il voulait qu'on ne parlât plus que grec dans les Etats-Unis!," *op. cit.* Vol. ii, p. 423.

[5] A writer in the *Maine Catholic Historical Magazine* (Vol. v, pp. 45–47) is of the opinion that the tradition, which exists on the Gallipolis refugees in Maine, is without historic foundation. Father de Barth who refused the See of Philadelphia in 1816 was a son of one of the Gallipolis settlers.

[6] SHEA, *Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll*, p. 480. New York, 1888. For the story of these French intrigues to control the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the United States, cf. *Les nominations épiscopales aux premiers temps de l'Episcopat Américain*, article in the *Mélanges Mœller* by Zwierlein, pp. 527–56. Louvain, 1914. Cf. also *Documents relative to the adjustment of the Roman Catholic organisation in the United States*, in the *American Historical Review*, Vol. xv (1910), pp. 800–29.

law, as is evident from the documents which follow, and which are now published for the first time from photographic copies taken in the *Archives of Propaganda*, at Rome.

I

The first of these documents is a letter from the promoters of the Sciotu Company to the Papal Nuncio at Paris, presenting the name of the Abbé do Boisnantier to the Holy Father as the prospective Bishop of the new See of Gallipolis, Ohio:

A son Excellence, Monseigneur le Nonce,

La nouvelle colonie des francois qui se forme dans l'amerique septentrionale, entre le Scioto et l'Oyo, etant presque toute composée de catholiques qui desirent vivre et mourir dans la profession interieure et exterieure de leur foy, considerant a quels dangers ils seroient exposés pour le salut, s'ils se trouvoient sans eglise, sans prêtres, sans culte public, sans hierarchie, et abandonnés a quelques écclesiastiques mercenaires que les malheurs qui dechirent la france pourroient conduire au milieu d'eux par l'espoir d'y faire fortune, supplie humblement notre très saint père le pape, de leur accorder un evêque qui préside au maintien de la doctrine et de la discipline réligieuse, et qui, toujours uni par principes à la sainte église romaine, puisse reprimer les abus qui se pourroient glisser dans ce nouvel établissement, soit contre la foy soit contre les moeurs. La nouvelle colonie desire cette grace avec autant plus d'ardeur qu'occupant un terrain de plus de deux cent lieux d'étendue, il n'y a pas d'evêque à qui on puisse commodement avoir recours soit pour des ordinations, soit pour la Confirmation, soit pour des dispenses que les evêques seuls sont dans l'usage d'accorder, et que d'ailleurs elle espère que la fondation d'une ville épiscopale [Gallipolis] attireroit dans son sein un nombre prodigieux de familles dispersées dans ce pays presqu'inculte, et qui y vivroient en corps de societé comme en unite de croyance.

A ces causes, les principaux Membres de la colonie proposent Monsieur Duboisnantier, prêtre habitué à s. Rock, et supplient très respectueusement sa sainteté de, lui donner le titre d'Evêque, avec toute la jurisdiction spirituelle que peut demander une mission aussi étendue que celle du Scioto.

[Signed]

Guérin	MM. Barons de Maubranche, Malartic, Bergent.
de Lézay-Marnesia	du Bellan
Delaroche	Smith
de Val d'Esprémesnil	Madame Thiébaut
William Playfair	de Gravier
J. A. Chais, de Soissons	Viscount de Bellon[7]

There is no record, among the papers of the d'Esprémesnil family, of the elevation of Father Du Boisnantier to the episcopal See of Gallipolis in the wilderness of Ohio. Shea is correct in his surmise that Du Boisnantier was proposed prior to Didier. This supposition is strengthened by the Bruté *Papers*.[8] He did not come to America.

[7] *Arch. di Prop. Fide, America Centrale*, Vol. ii (1776–1790), ff, 388–389.

[8] "A curious fact.—The late Bishop Bruté, among some papers of his which have come under our notice, states that a Catholic bishopric was proposed to be erected at Scioto, or Gallipolis, in Ohio, of early as the year 1789, which was the period also of Rev. Mr. Carroll's appointment to the See as

II

The second of these documents, dated Paris, March 22, 1790, is similar to the first. It is a petition from the heads of the company to the Papal Nuncio, asking for the election of a Benedictine monk of St. Maur, Dom Didier, as Bishop of the Colony:

A son Excellence, Monseigneur Dugnani, Nonce Apostolique,

Les personnes reunies pour former une colonie dans l'Amérique Septentrionale, sur les bords de la Riviere Scioto, desirant que ce nouvel établissement qui s'y forme puisse jouir de tous les secours spirituels qui dirigent et assurent la soumission à l'église catholique apostolique et romaine, après les informations nécessaires pour un choix si important ont nommè le Père Dom Didier Benedictin de la congregation de St. Maur pour presider tout cequi serait rélatif au culte divin et aux instructions de la Jeunesse. Les ci-dites personnes, aujourd'hui assemblées, ayant pris connaissance du *Mémoire* presenté par Dom Didier à son Excellence, Monseigneur le Nonce, ont l'honneur de supplier son Excellence de vouloir bien proteger auprès de sa Sainteté les observations qui sont presentées dans cette requête. La colonie sera très flattée d'obtenir par la Protection de son Excellence des secours spirituels, qui pourront contribuer au succes d'un établissement dont tous les principes ont pour objet la gloire de la religion, la pureté des moeurs, et le bonheur de la colonie, et ont signé le present ce 22 Mars, 1790.

[Signed]

Baron de Maubranche
de Lézay-Marnesia, *fils*
M. de Lézay-Marnesia
Malartic
de Bondy
pour mon frère, Didier.

Gravier
du Val d'Esprémesnil
Vte de Bellon
J. A. Chais, de Soissons
De Graville
etc., etc.[9]

The fact that some of these names appear on both letters would seem to indicate that there had been no rivalry between Du Boisnantier and Didier. Probably, the first-named, on reflection, declined the empty honor. There is no insincerity in the declaration of their intention to establish a well-organized Catholic life at Gallipolis. Frenchmen of all classes were anxious to leave France to escape "l'intolerable tyrannie des vizirs françois," as de Warville tells us, when they saw the ancient bulwarks of Christianity falling in ruins around them.[10] The *Mémoire*, mentioned in this supplication for Didier's election, gives a general survey of their spiritual plans.

Baltimore. Mr. Bruté being at Paris in 1824, learned this remarkable fact from the Abbé Boisnantier, a canon of St. Denys, who had been himself nominated to the new See in Ohio. No reasons, however, are mentioned, to account for the subsequent withdrawal of these appointments. It was probably caused by the circumstances mentioned in Dr. Spalding's *Sketches of Kentucky* (p. 62), where he speaks of the French Catholics who had settled at Gallipolis. The colonists had been defrauded in the purchase of lands, the title proving defective, and many of them returned to France in consequence of this unfortunate transaction, which marred the prospects of the new settlement, and probably suspended the proceedings relative to the contemplated See. It is rather singular, however, that the fact of the new bishopric having been designed, has never been publicly alluded to in connection with the history of the West." (*U. S. Catholic Magazine*, 1845, p. 407.)

[9] *Arch. di Prop. Fide, American Centrale*, Vol. ii (1776–1790), ff, 379–379*v*.

[10] BRISSOT DE WARVILLE, *Nouveau Voyage dans les Etats-Unis de l'Amérique septentrionale, fait en* 1788, Vol. i, p. 377. Paris, 1791.

III

The Didier *Mémoire* bears the same date as the preceding letter, March 22, 1790. The number of the emigrants, who were almost entirely Catholic, was increasing to a considerable extent; and, since he had been chosen as their spiritual head in the New World, he feels obliged to strengthen the request of the leaders by making a personal application for ecclesiastical powers—either as Bishop of Gallipolis or as Vicar-Apostolic—to carry out the religious and educational plans of the colonists. It is apparent from the *Mémoire* that the Nuncio had already called his attention to the fact that the United States had just been given a Bishop, in the person of John Carroll, of Baltimore; but Didier argues that the distance between Baltimore and Gallipolis was so great that Bishop Carroll could not guide the spiritual destinies of the emigrants. The French people, moreover, were accustomed to have their own Bishops, and Didier begs the Nuncio to hasten the conclusion of the matter at Rome, as he was then ready to start for Havre:

Monseigneur,

J'ai l'honneur de representer à Votre Excellence qu'une société de personnes distinguées et Catholiques, a fait des requisitions considerables au Scioto, partie de de l'Amérique septentrionale, qu'elle y fait passer plusieurs habitans des campagnes, que plusieurs particuliers suivent cette exemple, que ces émigrations s'élèvent déjà à un degré de population assez considerable pour mériter l'attention réligieuse du très saint Père et celle de Votre Excellence. Ils ont droit d'attendre du chef visible de l'église les secours spirituels qui lui seul a la pouvoir de leur procurer. Cette société, Monseigneur, m'a fait l'honneur de me choisir pour son pasteur. Ce choix m'honore, excite mon zêle et me determine à sacrifier ma personne et mes foibles talens à la Religion, à l'Education, et au bonheur de cette colonie naissante. Mais, Monseigneur, il ne m'est pas possible de remplir ce but, si je n'ai point une mission legale. Votre Excellence sçait que l'Etat dans lequel se va fonder cette colonie ayant pour Religion dominante la protestante, et tolérant toutes les sectes, il n'existe aucune puissance ecclésiastique à la quelle je puisse avoir recours. Votre Excellence m'a fait l'honneur de me faire observer qu'il existe un évêque à Baltimore. Qu'il me soit permis de lui representer qu'on peut regarder cet évêque comme nul pour le Scioto, à raison des distances considerables qui nous separeront; la difficulté des communications, le danger d'abandonner un troupeau que l'on pourra regarder comme une église naissante; tous ces obstacles pourroient, Monseigneur, retarder les fruits que le religion pourroit faire en ce pays, et même detruire insensiblement dans le coeur des habitans les principes religieux qu'ils ont reçu dans leur enfance, par les difficultés qu'ils eprouveroient dans l'exercise, la facilite qu'ils pourroient rencontrer à professer une autre Religion qu'on leur persuaderoit être aussi bonne. Votre Excellence connoit le coeur de l'homme. Elle sçait qu'il faut se prêter à l'opinion, aux usages et aux habitudes, lorsque l'on vent operer le bien. Il faut donc qu'elle ait la bonté de considerer la nature des hommes qui vont habiter ces nouvelles regions, ce sont des François Catholiques, accoutumés à être soumis pour le spirituel à des Evêques et à des Prêtres. Je pense, Monseigneur, qu'il seroit dangereux de leur laisser perdre ces avantageuses impressions. Il faut aussi que Votre Excellence envisage le nombre considerable des Emigrants, qui vont former tout d'un coup une masse d'habitans assez forte, pour avoir besoin d'un chef révêtu de pouvoirs spirituels très étendus. Que ce soit un Evêque on un Vicaire Apostolique, il faut l'un ou l'autre, c'est au très saint Père et à Votre Excellence à juger ce qui conviendra le

mieux. Je n'ai point, Monseigneur, assez de presomption, pour solliciter en ma faveur. Ces titres qu'exigent des talens superieurs et des vertus que je n'ose me flatter d'avoir, un zêle ardent, une religion solide et eclairée, quelques connaissances—d'utilité publique, un coeur conpatissant auquel rien ne repugne, lorsqu'il s'agit de soulager l'humanité souffrante, sont des titres pour pretendre au rang de subalterne. Il faut des qualités plus éminentes lorsqu'on est destiné à être placé sur le chandelier, c'est ce qui fait que mes vues ne se portent point à ce degré d'élevation. Le but de ma supplique, Monseigneur, est de vous faire envisager le besoin d'un évêque, ou de tout autre Supérieur ecclésiastique, auquel je puisse m'addresser pour les pouvoirs rélatifs à l'emploi auquel je suis destiné par le choix d'une société, la necessité de sa residence au Scioto, tant pour le present que pour l'avenir; residence à laquelle j'attache le succès de l'établissement de la Religion dans ces contrées et sa propagation future dans cette partie du Globe. Si ces reflexions, Monseigneur, ne sont point assez determinantes, pour faire en ce moment l'établissement que j'ai l'honneur de proposer à Votre Excellence, je la supplie de vouloir bien employer ses bons offices auprès de sa Sainteté pour m'obtenir avant mon depart tout ce qu'elle jugera necessaire pour le plus grand bien de la religion, la gloire de Dieu et le bonheur des peuples qui me sont confiés. Je me contenterai des pouvoirs qui me seront accordés, dans la forme et l'étendue qu'il aura plu à la sagesse et à la providence du très Saint Père de les circonscrire, et je les accepterai avec la reconnoisance et la soumission la plus entière. Je supplie Votre Excellence de vouloir bien presser au Cour de Rome l'expedition prompte de l'objet de ma demande, attendu la proximité de mon depart. Permettez que Votre Excellence trouve ici l'hommage respectueux de mon sincère devouement et les sentimens distingués avec lesquels j'ai l'honneur d'être,

Monseigneur,

Votre très humble et très obiessant serviteur

Fr. Didier.[11]

IV

The same day, on receipt of this *Mémoire*, the Nuncio sent a dispatch to Rome, dated March 22, 1790, to Cardinal Antonelli, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide, announcing the project of the Scioto Company and their selection of Dom Didier as Bishop of Gallipolis, Ohio. The Nuncio avers that Didier is unknown to him, but that he will inquire as to his character and talents for the post. He has asked Didier for a more complete explanation of the plans of the company, and when these are presented to him, he will send them on to Rome:

Eminenza,

Una colonia francese di varie centinaja di persone va a stabilirsi nell'America settentrionale. Ha questa fatto l'acquisto di una quantità di terreno sul bordo dell' Ohio a cento leghe di distanza dal mare. Fra le persone, che sono alla testa di questa colonia vi è il Signor d'Espremenil Consigliere del Parlamento di Parigi, e soggetto ben noto il quale credo abbia formato un piano di constituzione a governo di questa piccola repubblica. Uno dei primi loro oggetti è stato di provvedere a tutto ciò che può esser necessario per l'esercizio del culto della nostra santa religione per l'istruzione e per l'educazione. Hanno quindi prescelto un certo D. Didier monaco

[11] *Arch. di Prop. Fide, America Centrale*, Vol. ii (1776–1790), ff. 380–383*v*.

di S. Maur, che io non conosco, ma di cui mi procurerò qualche informazione. Questo religioso mi ha fatto presentare l'annesso foglio, in cui espone la commissione, di cui deve essere incaricato, e domanda alla Sacra Congregazione le necessarie facoltà. Io però gli ho fatto rispondere che oltre il suddetto foglio sarebbe stato opportuno che li deputati di questa colonia facessero conoscere alla Sacra Congregazione le loro idee, e li mezzi che si offrono a fornire per l'esecuzione, onde la Sacra Congregazione possa acquistare una sufficiente cognizione di questo nuovo stabilimento, e dare quelle providenze che la natura del luogo, il numero delle persone ed altre circostanze fisiche e morali potranno esiggere per il miglior successo. Questa memoria adunque mi sara mandata nel corrente di questa settimana, che io poi in seguito accompagnerò con lettera d'officio all'Eminenza Vostra. Ho creduto soltanto di prevenire Vostra Eminenza, stante che essendo imminente la partenza dell suddetto religioso, mi si fa premura di qualche risposta.[12]

Parigi, il 22 marzo, 1790. Umilissimo. . . .

V

On March 29, 1790, the Nuncio wrote a second time to Cardinal Antonelli, saying that three or four priests were preparing to go to Gallipolis, but that Didier had been chosen as the spiritual head of the colony:

Eminmo. e Revmo. Signore,

Alcune famiglie francesi sono in procinto di partire per l'America Settentrionale. Hanno quivi comprate delle terre sulla riva del fiume Scioto, alla distanza però di 100 leghe dal mare, ed hanno il progetto di stabilire in esse una colonia. Fra i loro primi pensieri hanno avuto quello di provedersi de' ministri della religione. Vi sono tre o quattro ecclesiastici disposti a partire in breve. Ma oltre a questi, vi è un Religioso della Cong. di S. Mauro, il quale specialmente vien deputato da questa colonia per essere alla testa di tutto ciò che riguarda il culto, l'amministrazione de'sacramenti, l'instruzione, ed anche l'educazione. Questo religioso pertanto mi ha formato un foglio, che qui annetto unitamente all'altro sottoscritto dai capi della stessa colonia. Da tali fogli V. E. e la Congregazione vedranno quanto il suddetto religioso desidera, e quanto gli può esser necessario per contribuire al buon esito dello stabilimento in ciò che riguarda la religione, e i costumi. E con profondissimo ossequio sono.

Dell' E. V.
Umilissimo, divotissimo, obbligatissimo servitore
✠A. *Arcivescovo di Rodi.*[13]

Parigi, 29 Marzo, 1790.

VI

Propaganda yielded to the wishes of the Scioto Company and on April 26 1790, appointed Didier—not Bishop or Vicar-Apostolic, as he wished, but Vicar-General *in spiritualibus* for the space of seven years. A copy of this Brief exists in the *Catholic Archives*, at the University of Notre Dame, Indiana, and the following translation was published in the *Researches* of the American Catholic Historical Society (Vol. xii (1895), pp. 50–51).

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[12] *Arch. di Prop. Fide, America Centrale*, Vol. ii (1776—1790), ff, 381–382.
[13] *Arch. di Prop. Fide America Centrale*, Vol. ii (1776–1790), fol. 378.

26th April, 1790.

Whereas, it has been communicated by the Most Rev. Archbishop of Rhodes, in France, that some men of illustrious piety and distinguished family have formed the design of emigrating to North America and establishing a colony on the lands of the river Scioto, where they have already, to this issue, bought considerable land; and whereas, for the sake of Catholic worship to which they are and will be most attached, they have arranged to bring with them a priest who may, as well on the way as in the settlements where they will fix their homes, administer to them the Sacraments, undertake the preaching of the word of God, look after the care of souls, they humbly ask of the Holy Father to grant to Rev. Father Didier, Benedictine Monk of the Order of Saint Benedict, Congregation of St. Maur, all the faculties which may seem opportune for the spiritual government of so many Catholic families: the Sacred Congregation, through the most eminent Cardinal Antonelli, Prefect, agreeing to their petitions, decreed, if it should please the Holy Father, that the faculties of *Formula IV* could be conceded to Father Didier, if he should be approved for pastoral work by the Archbishop of Paris, or his Vicar-General in spiritualities, for seven years, with complete jurisdiction over all the French who emigrate with him, *on condition that the lands and place where they should found their lands and Colony should not be within the diocese of any Bishop within the limits of the government and sway of the United States, which altogether lies under the jurisdiction of the Bishop lately appointed in Baltimore by the Apostolic See. Further, Father Didier can in no way use the above faculties unless by the consent of the said Bishop,* and is bound every year to inform the Sacred Congregation of the state of his mission, the number of faithful and their spiritual progress.

Which decree being communicated to him by the Most Eminent Cardinal Prefect, at an audience given on the above date, His Holiness graciously approved in every particular, and conceded the said faculties *ad Septennium*.

L. Cardinal Antonelli, *Prefect.*

Dated Rome, April 28, 1790. G. Carpeyña, *Secretary.*

Decree of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, twenty-sixth of April, 1790.

Through Most Eminent Cardinal Antonelli, Prefect, the Sacred Congregation appointed Rev. Father Didier, Benedictine of the Congregation of St. Maur, Superior of the French Colony on the banks of the river Scioto, for seven years, with the authority necessary for the spiritual government of the said Colony, according to prescription of the decrees of the Sacred Congregation, and with the limits placed as to their exercise, and at no other time and in no other way.

L. Cardinal Antonelli, *Prefect.*

Dated Rome, April 28, 1790. G. Carpeyna, *Secretary.*

VII

It is evident from the original *Brief* of Appointment that Didier's powers as Prefect-Apostolic of the Colony were in no way to interfere with the jurisdiction, enjoyed by Bishop Carroll, over all the United States. The territory beyond the Alleghenies was an obscurely known one, and in 1790 it was not altogether certain whose was the ecclesiastical jurisdiction over this part of the Ohio Valley. But the *Brief* reads with a definitiveness which leaves no room for doubt that the Sacred Congregation had no intention to shorten the diocesan limits of Bishop Carroll nor to give Didier any faculties which could be used without Carroll's express consent. In his letter of May 10, 1790, to Cardinal Antonelli,

the Papal Nuncio of Paris also understands that Didier's faculties would have to be confirmed by Bishop Carroll before they could be used. About Didier himself he could find little, but he has been informed that he is a religious of good character, sound in doctrine, though somewhat of an impetuous and idealistic nature. Didier had already left for Havre, at the date of the Nuncio's writing (May 10, 1790), and was preparing to leave about the end of the month for America. Bishop Carroll, in a letter to Plowden, dated September 3, 1791, speaks of "the arrival, last year, of a Benedictine Monk, with a congregation, on the banks of the Ohio."[14]

Emmo. Illmo. Signore,

La nuova colonia de'Francesi che parte per l'America, va a stabilirsi lungo il fiume Sciotto dentro lo stato della Virginia, anzi essa formerà in appresso uno porzione di d° Stato, onde per ragione della località, la missione della Colonia med^ma^ pare compressa nella giuridizione di già accordata dalla S. Cong^ne^ al Vic°. Aplico. degli Stati Uniti. Circa le qualità personali di D. Didier, sono assicurato esser egli un buon religioso, e di sani principii circa la dottrina, ma a quanto ho inteso, è un po' vivo e progettista. Egli è già partito per *Hauvre de Grace*, e di la verso la metà di questo mese s'imbarcherà per l'America. M^r^ d' Espremenill fa però qui gli affari della compagnia, ed egli si caricherà di transmetter la risposta, che la S. Cong^ne^ farà al sud° religioso come questi arrivato in America troverassi in notabile distanza dal Vic° Aplico, ne potrà aver da lui le necessarie facoltà, se non dopo qualche tempo, cosi implora fin da ora della S. Cong^ne^ le opportune facoltà provisionali finchè queste gli vengano confermate da quel Vic° Aplico

Dell' E. V.,
Immo etc.

Parigi 10 Maggio, 1790. ✠A., *Arc. di Rodi.*[15]

VIII

Propaganda intended, therefore, that the new colony would depend almost immediately upon the Bishop of Baltimore. A further letter of the Nuncio to Antonelli, dated Paris, May 17, 1790, is interesting because it appears to hint that Du Boisnantier was asserting his right to the See of Gallipolis, as mentioned in the Bruté *Papers*.

Emo., etc.,

Essendo D. Didier già partito da Parigi, non ho potuto eseguire che per lettera le commissioni di cui V. E. mi ha onorato. Non so se il mio piego arriverà in tempo di raggiungerlo a Havre de Grace, ove da vari giorni era egli sul momento d'imbarcarsi, ma quand'anche fosse partito, M^r^ d' Espremenill mi ha fatto sapere, che potrà facilmente spedirglielo essendo imminente la partenza d'altre navi mercantili per la med^ma^ destinazione. Qui in Parigi vi è un Prete, che bramerebbe di divenir vescovo di quella colonia, ed a ottenuto, che i capi di essa s'interessino per la sua elezione. M^r^ d' Espremenill mi ha quindi presentato il foglio, che annetto. Per

[14] Cf. HUGHES, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, Documents, Vol. i, Pt. ii, p. 754. New York, 1910. It is curious to note also in this connection that the Sulpician Father Galais, during the discussions preparatory to the foundation of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, suggested "that the Seminary should be founded at Gallipolis, where many emigrants from France at that time proposed to settle." SHEA, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 377.

[15] *Arch. di Prop. Fide, America Centrale*, Vol. ii (1776–1790), ff, 384–386.

quanto credo che la cosa non convenga in alcun modo si per le disposizioni, che si annunziano nel soggetto, si per le mesure già prese circa la dipendenza della colonia dal vescovo di Baltimore, e la facoltà recentemente accordata a F. Didier, non ha potuto ricusare di mandarle il sud° foglio. Se V. E. crede mi basterà d'avere una lettera ostensibile per M^r d' Espremenill il quale non lascia di essere un soggetto, che merita de riguardi, e delle attenzioni. E con profond^mo ossequio,

Pariji, 17 Maggio, 1790. Dell' E. V., etc.[16]

The failure of the whole scheme is but another incident in the already long list of utopian projects which have had their stage in America from the early colonial days and later, when such attempts as the New Ireland Plantation and the Celtic Republic were made for the oppressed people of Europe. It is difficult to say with any degree of accuracy what became of Dom Didier after the collapse of the Gallipolis colony. O'Hanlon (*Life and Scenery of Missouri*, p. 64-5), states that Father Didier officiated at St. Louis from 1793 to 1799.[17] It is surmised that he went to New Orleans in 1800, and it is probable that the ecclesiastical archives of that province would shed some light on the rest of his life. Shea calls him the pioneer Benedictine in this country and says that he died at St. Louis. "Left without a priest, the settlement at Gallipolis soon lost all coherence and dwindled away. Religion gradually faded out. Children were no longer baptized; they did not even ask Dr. Carroll to send them a priest. On Sundays instead of prayer and Catholic instructions, meetings were held where deism and infidelity were openly advocated. Such was the end of the Prefecture-Apostolic of the Scioto."[18]

[16] *Arch. di Prop. Fide, America Centrale*, Vol. ii (1776-1790), ff. 387-387v.

[17] Mention is made in BILLON, *Annals of St. Louis* (St. Louis, 1886), p. 465, of a John Pierre Didier; but it is not stated whether or not he was a priest.

[18] SHEA, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 481-2. When Fathers Badin and Barrières visited Gallipolis in September, 1793, on their way to the Kentucky missions, their arrival was hailed with joy and they stayed several days ministering to the people; they baptised forty children. (*Cf. ibid.*, Vol. ii, p. 453.) It would look from this as if Didier had deserted his people. BRECKENRIDGE in his *Recollections*, says "they had vanished like the palace of Aladdin. *Cf.* for the whole melancholy tragedy, VOLNEY, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, pp. 381-93. "Night was coming on when I reached the village of Gallipolis. I could only distinguish three rows of little white houses built on the flat summit of the bank of the Ohio. . . . I was struck with its wild appearance, and the sallow complexions, thin visages, sickly looks, and weary air, of all its inhabitants. They were not desirous of conversing with me!" (p. 385, *English trans.*). There is a letter in ROBIN, *Nouveaux Voyages* (p. 17), from Dom Didier (undated but written after his arrival at Gallipolis) to Father Piot sub-Prior of the Royal Abbey of St. Denis, to which Didier belonged. It must have been written during the first days of the colony, for it breathes great hope for the future. He says in part: "J'ai rencontré beaucoup d'Américains catholiques. J'ai baptisé beaucoup de leurs enfans; ils ne voyent de Presbytres que quatre fois par an. J'ai vu des Sauvages catholiques, parlant un peu Français, qui m'ont baisé les mains. . . ." It is strange that no letters of Didier exist in the *Gallipolis Papers*, now in the *Van Wormer Library* (Ohio Philosophical Society), of the University of Cincinnati. These papers have been arranged and some of them edited by Belote, in the seventh volume of the *Quarterly Publications of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* (Vol. vii, 1907, No. 2). Other documents exist in the collection of the *American Antiquarian Society* and in those of the *New York Historical Society*.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Colonizing Activities of the English Puritans. The Last Phase of the Elizabethan Struggle with Spain. By Arthur Percival Newton. With an Introduction by Charles M. Andrews, Ph.D., L.H.D. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1914. Pp. x+344.

In his introduction to this important work, Prof. Andrews tells us that the first forty years of the seventeenth century in England, although primarily of interest as a period of constitutional conflict, were marked by an outburst of romantic activity which sent hundreds of Englishmen out into the western seas in search of adventure and profit. The entire colonial activity, together with the half piratical expeditions and organized commercial enterprises, cannot be fully understood unless the impulses which fashioned them, partly religious and partly economic, be viewed in their entirety. It is difficult, he says, to grasp the full significance of the settlements of Virginia, Maryland, Massachusetts and Saybrook, without a knowledge of the circumstances under which the colonies of Bermuda, the Barbadoes, and Old Providence were established, for while no single motive governed the men who voyaged to the new world during this romantic period, these different impulses were so inextricably interwoven that the movement must be viewed as a whole. Our American historians, up to within very recent times, have been handling individual efforts of colonization as separate movements, "thus giving to our era of beginnings the appearance of a running track laid out in separate and mutually exclusive courses." It is hard to say whether it is more advisable to study the European backgrounds of our American history or to view the history of the old world through the focus of early American endeavor; but for a satisfactory appreciation of the settlements on the American seaboard, the colonizing activities of the different religious elements in England must be thoroughly understood. This is the great value of Mr. Newton's book. Though he deals with the colonizing experiments of the English Puritans in the West Indies and the States of Central America, he ranges over a large field of

English activity during those intense years of royal and parliamentary conflict from 1600 to 1660.

In the time of Elizabeth, the English Puritans had become a veritable religious clan, bound together by ties of blood, marriage and religious institutions; and in treating the Puritan colonizing activities, one is impressed by the fact that it is almost the same as dealing with a family. The Providence Company, which settled in the very heart of the Spanish Main, is the story of organized opposition on the part of these Englishmen of the seventeenth century to Spanish dominion in the West Indies; and in following the history of the company which undertook the colonization of the islands of Henrietta, Providence, and Tortuga or Association, in the Caribbean Sea, the impression is brought home upon the reader that the history of English colonization of the first part of the seventeenth century is peculiarly a part of the history of England itself and that it can only be understood in so far forth as the causes are detected in the background of English political history, enlivened with the highlights of the forces which were tending for and against the power of the royal Stuarts. The story of the Providence Company falls naturally into two periods, from its foundation, in 1626, down to the year 1635, and from 1635 down to the beginning of the reign of Charles II, 1660. Mr. Newton builds up a very interesting story from the contemporary records of the times and from the *Calendars*, both *Domestic* and *Colonial*, of the Public Record Office. The history of Puritan immigration, the planting of Tortuga and the settlement of Providence, with their failure to hold their own against Spanish and French attacks, pass before the eyes of the reader with all the interest of a romance; and its impression—no matter what we think of the morality of the piracy which assisted England so greatly in her colonizing enterprises—makes it impossible not to be thrilled by the story of these sturdy Puritans who were instrumental in building up the first permanent settlements on our coast. The close relationship which existed between their leaders in England, in the American colonies and in these tiny island settlements of the West Indies is here explained for the first time. It is a work which should be found in every American library, for no other book on the subject illustrates so clearly the development of the policy of English hostility to Spain during this period of its greatest vigor.

The Presidency—Its Duties, Its Powers, Its Opportunities, and Its Limitations. By William Howard Taft. Charles Scribner's Sons. New York, 1916. 145 pp.

This volume comprises the Barbour-Page Foundation Lectures which Mr. Taft delivered at the University of Virginia, January, 1915. Like most of the author's utterances, they are marked by judicial poise, moderate conservatism, and fundamental sanity. While he points to many features of the Presidency which could be modified to advantage, he thinks that on the whole the need for changes is not extremely urgent, and that the improvements can be virtually brought about by indirect and common sense methods. For example, in dealing with the criticism that the President can do nothing toward initiating legislation except through mere recommendation, and that he is not authorized to discuss proposed laws in Congress, Mr. Taft declares that this defect is more theoretical than actual, inasmuch as the President is usually supported by a Congress of the same political faith as his own, and is therefore able to exercise considerable moral influence in shaping legislation. Opinions will naturally differ as to whether this informal process is an adequate substitute for the more direct and formal power which is exercised in the legislative body by the cabinet in European countries. It is interesting to note that Mr. Taft agrees with the pronouncement of the Democratic party in favor of a single term for the President, without, of course, calling attention to the parallel. He would have the term of the Presidency lengthened to six or seven years. Another reform which he favors is the removal from Presidential appointment of all postmasters, and collectors of internal revenues and customs, and their inclusion in the classified civil service. The book is well worth reading for its practical, brief, and yet comprehensive presentation of the most important problems connected with the office of President of the United States.

Russian Expansion on the Pacific, 1641-1850. By F. A. Golder. Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1914. Pp. 368.

No phrase can better describe the contents of this volume than the title which the author has chosen for it. It is, indeed, a story of "Russian expansion on the Pacific." A detailed account is given of the discoveries, by Russian navigators, explorers and

geographers, of the great hardships they had to undergo, and of the gradual extension of Russian influence over the many Siberian tribes. Many of these men, such as Bering, Spanberg, Waxel, Walton, Steller and Delisle de la Croyère, were not Russians; but when we reflect that Peter the Great was accustomed to surround himself with the geniuses of other nations, we are not surprised at this.

Commencing with the establishment of a Russian province at Jakutsk, in 1641, Mr. Golder, in his first chapter, describes conditions existing in eastern Siberia in the seventeenth century. We are given a brief description of the form of government and the functions of various officials, *woewods*, *golovas*, *prikaschiks*, *atamans*, *etc.* The chief duty of these men was to collect tribute consisting mainly of furs. There is a touch of humor, though doubtless unconscious, in the account of the thieving proclivities of the tribute gatherers.

The second chapter relates the efforts of Russia and China to secure control of the lands bordering on the Amur. Many historians, in writing of this period of Russian history, assert that in the battles with the Chinese the Russians were on all occasions greatly outnumbered. The author disputes these statements and introduces much evidence to support his contentions. He very properly notes the important part played by the Jesuit missionaries in the Treaty of Nertchinsk, which ended these struggles. In his examination of Deshnef's voyage the author endeavors to show that Muller's account is not accurate, and that Deshnef did not proceed from the Koluima to the Anaduir by water, nor was the headland mentioned by him East Cape. The fourth chapter is devoted to Russia's struggle for the possession of Kamchatka and to an account of the several voyages to the Kyril Islands; then follows a description of the confusion reigning among geographers of the time, European and Asiatic, concerning Terra de Jeso and the attempts made to solve this vexing problem.

Chapters VI, VII and VIII contain rather detailed accounts of the voyages of Bering, who to most readers is but a name, of Gwosdef, Spanberg and their contemporaries. The object of these voyages was chiefly to discover whether or not Asia and America are united. They were instituted under the patronage of Peter the Great and afterwards the Empress Catherine, and

though not successful in their principal aim, they contributed much to the geographical knowledge of the day. In reading these chapters one is struck with the thought that had there been more harmony and less jealousy among the commanders much better results would have been obtained. The author has possibly crowded too much matter into these chapters, especially in his treatment of Bering's second expedition. In our opinion the suppression of some of the details would not have materially affected the accuracy of the volume. The ships employed in these expeditions were frequently named in honor of Saints, which shows that the men, although as a rule rough and uncouth, were by no means devoid of religion. After being saved from grave dangers, invariably their first action was to return thanks to God.

The geographical relations of Asia and America were definitely established in 1823 by Wrangell. This theme is one of the subjects of the concluding chapter. In it are contained also an account of the survey of the Amur region, a task originally assigned to Bering, and the solution of the Sakhalin Island problem. The work concludes with a well merited tribute to Russian navigators. Several appendices translated from the Russian, French, and German, an index, and a bibliography complete the volume.

Mr. Golder has consulted mainly original sources found at Harvard University, the Library of Congress, the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, the *Archives de la Marine* and the archives at Petrograd, the material of which he has had to condense and present in English. The secondary sources, with which the author does not always agree, are, however, of the highest standing. In this book we see the efforts of a descriptive and narrative writer of ability, who, by his style and method of presentation sustains interest in matter that is often far from attractive. "Russian Colonization on the Pacific" is a valuable contribution to a field that, as yet, has received but scant notice.

Abraham Lincoln. The Lawyer-Statesman. By John T. Richards. Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916. Pp. vii+260.

According to the publishers, this volume "is the result of years of searching among the records of the courts before which Lincoln practised, disproves many traditions, and illumines from a new angle the life and character of the real Abraham Lincoln."

It presents the main subject in three chapters, entitled, "in the courts," "the lawyer-president," and "criticism of the judiciary." These are preceded by a brief sketch of Lincoln's early education, and followed by a short appreciation of him as an orator, some gems of his thought, and an appendix containing his cases in the supreme courts of Illinois and the United States. The first claim in the quotation given above from the publisher's announcement, is well established by the contents of the book, but the second and third are somewhat exaggerated. One of the traditions which the author aims to disprove is the assumption that Lincoln did not have a proper respect for the courts, nor properly appreciate the value of an independent judiciary. It is doubtful whether any such tradition exists. All that has been claimed in this respect by the fair critics of the courts in recent years is that Lincoln used as strong language and employed the same arguments in differing from the Dred Scott decision as they have indulged in when they call into question some of the judicial decisions of recent years in the field of social and labor problems. As Mr. Richards points out, Lincoln severely criticised the judges who concurred in that decision, declaring that the decision itself was based upon ignorance of historical facts and prompted by the views of the judges regarding the merits of slavery, and affirming that the people were competent "to overthrow the *men* who pervert the constitution." The author tries to show that this line of criticism differs from that followed by the present day critics of the judiciary; but the fact is that the two lines are strikingly parallel; for the critics of the present day point out that decisions declaring unconstitutional labor laws, such as that involved in the New York bakeshop case (Lochner *vs.* New York) have proceeded from judicial ignorance of the actual conditions of industry, and from a certain bias acquired through early education and social affiliations. This was exactly the contention of Lincoln in essence. Even the extreme critics of today, those who desire the recall of judges, or the recall of judicial decisions have not desired to do more than "overthrow the men who pervert the constitution," and few of them have put their demands in such strong language.

The chief merit of the volume is that it presents Lincoln from a single and important point of view. It will, therefore, be found convenient by those who wish to consider him under that aspect.

The book is well printed, and contains several excellent illustrations.

Wraxall's Abridgment of the New York Indian Records, 1678-1751. Edited with an Introduction by Charles H. McIlwain, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History in Harvard University. Harvard Historical Studies. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1916. Pp. cxviii+251.

In this volume of the Harvard Historical Studies, Prof. McIlwain has edited Peter Wraxall's "Abridgment of the Indian Records in the Colony of New York from 1678 to 1751." Wraxall was Indian Secretary for the Province of New York, and his abridgment was compiled to oppose the Albany plan for control of Indian affairs by a board of Colonial representatives. It contributed to the defeat of the Albany scheme and resulted in the appointment by the Lords of Trade in 1755 of Sir William Johnson sole superintendent of Indian affairs in the colonies. Wraxall became Johnson's secretary and rendered him valuable assistance in that office.

The early rivalry between England and France in America was not prompted by the desire for territory, the motive generally ascribed by both contemporary and modern historians, but was induced by the desire for Indian fur trade. It was the commercial treaties between the Five Nations and the Dutch and later between them and the English on the Hudson that prevented the realization of French colonization schemes; the success of which doubtless would have completely changed the political aspect of America. The French could not compete with the cleaply manufactured goods of the English traders and it was this, rather than the kindness of the English, which contributed to the French losses in America. The author says: "During the whole history of the English fur trade, the evidence indicates that most of these traders were the very scum of the earth, and their treatment of the Indians was such as hardly to be suitable for description." We recommend this quotation to English chroniclers of Spanish cruelty in America.

The importance of the study of these early Indian records is found in their significant effect upon the extension of French and English influence in the north and around the Great Lakes, a study which has not always received its merited attention. The

editor prefaces the original text with an instructive introduction supplemented profusely by citations principally from original sources. The Abridgment itself is amplified by explanatory notes.

Union Portraits. By Gamaliel Bradford. Pp. 330. Illustrated. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co.

In this volume Mr. Bradford continues his series of biographical studies with "portraits" of nine Union leaders of Civil War times. Lee, the American, as well as Confederate Portraits are familiar works by the same author. He has selected as representative men of the North, Generals McClellan, Hooker, Meade, Thomas, and Sherman, and Secretaries Stanton and Seward, and Charles Sumner and Samuel Bowles. We look in vain for Sheridan. The biographies of Hooker and McClellan are substantially those first published in the *Atlantic Monthly*. Mr. Bradford finds his materials in the writings of the men themselves and in those of their contemporaries to which he makes frequent reference. His appreciation of the characters and achievements of the northern generals, still the subject of controversy, are impartial and fair. It is not necessary to state that the author knows the Civil War period and its literature.

The "portrait" of the brilliant organizer but unsuccessful soldier, Gen. McClellan, is a composite of his many admirable qualities and excessive self-confidence. McClellan's supporters—and they are many—are never so enthusiastic as the General himself, and their praise is frequently "in the nature of an apology and lacks entirely the trumpet tone with which the General proclaims his own feats of arms." There is abundant testimony of the high regard and loving devotion of the Army of the Potomac for their leader. Although McClellan had ability, he lacked enterprise, and had he been a subordinate under men of the stamp of Grant, Sheridan or Thomas his campaigns would doubtless have been more successful. Mr. Bradford is just in saying: "He was a man of real power given too great an opportunity. As an able soldier, true patriot, and loyal gentleman, he did what he could."

"Fighting Joe" Hooker, so-named, as the author tells us, not by his troops but in pure accident by a newspaper compositor,

was a thoroughly human figure. He was a great organizer, surpassed only by McClellan, and he could plan campaigns ably, but lacked the ability to execute them. It was he who wrote, "We lost no honors at Chancellorsville," while Lincoln, "fell on his knees and told his God that the country could not endure another Fredericksburg or Chancellorsville." This is characteristic of Hooker. His confidence in himself and his inability to admit failure did not desert him. Hooker was unpopular with his associates because of his hasty speech and habits of criticizing and fault-finding; yet Lincoln said of him, "When trouble arises I can always rely on Hooker's magnanimity."

General Meade is a difficult person to understand and his personality and inability to win men make him less well known than other generals whose achievements were not so great. The casual student remembers only that he took a defeated army and in three days successfully met and stopped the hitherto victorious forces of Lee in the great battle of Gettysburg. Meade was a man of peace; he was modest, quiet, and unassuming yet not without substantial qualities making for success. "He was surely the man who fought Gettysburg. After all perhaps, that is something."

Gen. Thomas, like Lee, a Virginian, was confronted with the choice of serving either his native state or the Union, but unlike Lee he found his duty lay in service to the nation. For this he has been in turn criticized and commended by his biographers. Mr. Bradford argues that before Sumter he was undecided as to the course of his future allegiance. In Thomas we see the exercise of self-control and reserve in all things and at all times and an analysis of his character and motives is difficult. Yet notwithstanding his punctiliousness and exaggerated conception of the dignity of his position, he was kind of heart and tender of emotion on the rare occasions when he permitted himself the liberty of natural expression.

The author writes of Sherman: "He wore his coat unbuttoned and his heart also, exposed the inmost linings to all the winds of heaven. . . . This exposure is almost as baffling as Thomas's concealment, though in another fashion. We like to see a soul clean and wind-blown. But I am not sure that we always like to see it thrashing on the clothesline." This quotation is illustrative of the perspective of the author, and makes us believe

that in "Portraits" he has selected an expressive title for his work.

Of the biographies of Stanton, Seward, Sumner and Bowles, that of Stanton is the least cheering, but he was not found to be a very agreeable person by those who knew him. The author suggests that the Secretary of War was perhaps the only member of Lincoln's Cabinet who was not politically ambitious. He discounts the contention of many that Stanton was a personal coward, and holds that the true appreciation of this unusual character lies in the fact that "under all tactlessness and all indiscretion there lay the one passionate masterful purpose, to fight over all things and through all things and beyond all things that the inheritors of the American Revolution on this continent might find one indissoluble, prosperous, peaceful nation, the United States of America."

Seward was a natural politician, a popular orator, and without doubt the ablest and most influential member of Lincoln's and Johnson's Cabinets. Yet there appears to be a vein of insincerity, a hidden purpose, in what was said and done by this many-sided man. Mr. Bradford finds his key to the secrets of Seward's career in his "artistic temperament," which enabled him to view what was going on about him as a spectacle in which he stood apart.

Charles Sumner is described as a man who "had a magnificent tongue and one idea, the abolition of slavery. . . . He was simply the vocal organ of one of the greatest moral movements of the world."

Weed, Greeley, Garrison, Dana, and Raymond have left wider reputations as journalists, but the author has selected Samuel Bowles, Editor of the *Springfield Republican*, as the study best suitable to conclude this series. Bowles was sympathetic, yet uncompromising. He developed a struggling weekly into a great modern newspaper whose power he appreciated both as a moulder of opinion and disseminator of news. His biographers agree that he was given to faultfinding and grumbling, and he frequently used his own paper for personal attacks. Yet withal his editorials and letters were eagerly read and given a general circulation, and in Springfield there was public mourning for his death.

It is evident that Mr. Bradford makes no special plea for the distinguished men about whom he has written: His effort is

rather at an estimate of their characters and services. The student of American political history will find "Union Portraits" interesting and instructive reading. A chronology precedes each chapter and a bibliography with notes is appended.

The Postal Power of Congress, A Study in Constitutional Expansion. By Lindsay Rogers, Ph.D., LL.B., Adjunct Professor of Political Science in the University of Virginia. Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series XXXIV, No. 2. Pp. 180.

The purpose of this scholarly essay is "to trace the legislative and judicial history of the grant to Congress of the power 'to establish post offices and post roads,' and to discuss the constitutionality of the proposals that, under this clause, Federal control may be extended to subjects over which Congress has no direct authority." The study is one in constitutional interpretation rather than of the efficiency or development of the post office system. The author has revised and he republishes as a part of this volume his articles which have appeared in the law reviews of Harvard, Yale and the Virginia University law schools.

Chapter I. treats briefly of the attempts at regulation of the inefficient postal service in the colonies; the work of Benjamin Franklin, first as postmaster-general at Philadelphia, and later as postmaster-general of the Colonies; and the faulty organization and control under the Articles of Confederation. The grant of postal power received little consideration in either the Constitutional Convention or in the ratifying conventions of the several States. It was generally accepted that the postal service was by nature monopolistic and should therefore be under the exclusive power of the Federal Government. It cannot be urged, however, that the controverted powers later exercised under this clause were contemplated by the framers or "within the range of possibility" when the Constitution was adopted.

In Chapters II. and III. are discussed the power of Congress to establish post offices and post roads, the legislative acts and their judicial interpretations, and the various crimes and prohibited acts under Federal postal statutes. We are particularly interested in the ample treatment by Dr. Rogers and in his conclusions concerning the authority of the Postmaster-General to exclude

objectionable publications from the mails, a subject which is discussed in Chapters II., IV., and VIII. The failure of the so-called "Fitzgerald Amendment," in the third session of the Sixty-third Congress, and the opposition which it provoked in the committee hearings are mentioned. Although Congress has absolutely prohibited the use of the mails for the transmission of obscene literature, *i. e.*, obscenity as defined at common law, it has only denied the postal facilities to all " 'matter otherwise mailable by law, upon the outside envelop or outside cover or wrapper of which . . . any libelous, scurrilous, defamatory, . . . intended to reflect injuriously upon the character or conduct of another, (that) may be written or printed or otherwise impressed or apparent.' "—See United States *vs.* Boyle, 40 Fed. Rep. 664. It is significant that scurrilous or defamatory matter to be denied postal transmission must appear on the *outside cover or wrapper*, and all the attempts to amend the act relating to obscene publications by adding the words *scurrilous or defamatory* have failed. The postal laws of Canada, we believe, do authorize the exclusion of publications of a scurrilous character and their laws have been invoked against certain anti-Catholic newspapers published in the United States and their transmission by mail is no longer permitted. Congress has this power, too, the author concedes, but he finds objection to the recently proposed method of its exercise. Such remedial legislation would be proper if it "simply made such matter non-mailable and penalized any attempt to use the post office for its carriage. . . . But under the bill, if it was established that a person made a practice of sending such matter through the mails the postmaster general would have absolute authority to deny him facilities for *all* his mail matter, much of which would be admittedly innocuous. . . . This official's authority would, in effect, be to punish for acts not made criminal by Congress. Such legislation would for this reason seem unconstitutional as well as ill-considered."

The interference of the States with the mails, especially during the Civil War, and the attitude of Southern statesmen, and the generally accepted denial of the right of State interference are treated in Chapter V. Prof. Rogers holds that the legitimate expansion of Federal control over post roads will permit of Government ownership of railroads, postal telegraphs, and telephones.

The importance of these studies has not been fully appreciated by our political writers. Yet the exercise of no administrative power of government is of more vital concern to the people, nor has any single provision of the Constitution been more widely extended in its application by Congress and the Judiciary. Prof. Rogers intimates the promise of further researches in this direction, the publication of which we hope to see at an early date.

The Life of William McKinley. 2 Vols. By Charles S. Olcott, New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1916. Pp. xii+795.

President McKinley has not lacked numerous biographers. The works brought out by Fallows, Porter, Halstead, Corning, Ellis, McClure, Roe and many others have made the facts of his career familiar. But the present volumes contain the first satisfactory treatment of the subject that has appeared. The superiority of Mr. Olcott's work lies possibly more in his handling of the matter than in any new facts he makes known.

A short account of McKinley's ancestry leads up to the story of his life. Born in 1843 in humble surroundings and in an environment that promised little for his future, William McKinley manifested qualities that slowly pushed him forward. The honesty, manliness, and industry of his boyhood gave earnest of the sterling character which was later to win the confidence of the nation. From the school bench he passed to the teacher's chair in a little District school and then to the position of clerk in the post office. He was eighteen when he responded to Lincoln's call for volunteers. This step was the first momentous one of his career. A very interesting chapter describes McKinley's life as a soldier and closes with the young man a major at twenty-two. After the Civil War, McKinley took up the profession of the law and here, too, he was successful.

His interest in political questions and his acquaintance with some of the leaders of the day ushered him into politics, first as a political orator, later as a candidate for Congress. A prominent figure in Washington when tariff and currency were the great issue, then Governor of Ohio, he loomed larger and larger in the public eye till at length he became the Republican nominee for the Presidency in 1896. The administration of McKinley is well

known to our generation. To the ever-recurring matters of tariff and currency were added those of Civil Service Reform, the Isthmian Canal, Hawaii, Cuba, the Spanish War, the Philippines, China, and a host of minor problems. All of these the President handled admirably. He developed with each new responsibility. Of course his policy, like any other, was open to criticism and did not meet with unanimous approval but both in motives and results it reflected high qualities of integrity and statesmanship which earned him a reëlection in 1900. In the last days of his life President McKinley could find gratification in the splendid fruits of his work and in the trust of the people, and he looked forward to plans for the increased development and prosperity of the American Nation. The tragedy of September 6, 1901, ends Mr. Olcott's narrative and the book closes with an appreciation of the martyred president and an appendix containing the Buffalo speech, an account of the trial of Czolgosz, and a description of some McKinley monuments.

The writer is very frankly a panegyrist of McKinley, but his admiration is supported by well presented facts. The biography is based on the material collected by Mr. Cortelyou, the Secretary to McKinley, and on letters, diaries, and reminiscences of numerous associates and friends of the President in his public and private life. It is therefore a very intimate picture, rich in details which many biographers cannot obtain. This mass of sources Mr. Olcott has fashioned into a very valuable and a very readable book. He is not content with a mere chronicling of events but approaches the discussion of McKinley's policies with brief sketches of the questions at issue. While the chief interest of the book centers about McKinley as a public figure, McKinley the man, the loyal friend, the devoted husband, the Christian of a lofty idealism is revealed with sympathetic insight. That the book is, consciously or not, a plea for the principles of the Republican party need not detract from its value. An enthusiastic description of McKinley cannot but defend his policies and those of his party. But the work can be recommended none the less heartily to every reader.

The thirty-two illustrations are a pleasing addition to the text, and the publishers have given Mr. Olcott's volumes a most acceptable form.

Pastoral Letters, Addresses and Other Writings of the Right Rev. James A. McFaul, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Trenton. Edited by the Rev. James J. Powers. Pp. 403. New York: Benziger Brothers, 1916.

The present volume contains thirty selections from the pen of the Bishop of Trenton. They are now presented to a larger public in the hope that they "will help to solve some of the perplexing problems of the day and also lead to a better understanding of social, civil, and religious conditions." The voice of an American Catholic Bishop speaking on such topics as Education, Labor, Citizenship, the Home, Socialism, Race Suicide, the Press, cannot but appeal to a wide circle of readers, and even in treating of subjects of less popular interest the author often has that to say which gives his words a worth that outlives the particular occasion that called them forth. Questions of the day are handled with outspoken vigor, the bishop being one who prefers entering the arena of discussion to the "state of siege" attitude maintained by too many Catholics. The dominant note of the whole book may be said to be the application of Christian principles to modern American life, in the family, in politics, in the relations of Capital and Labor, in every phase of social relations. And as a patriot no less than as a Churchman, the Bishop of Trenton urges that the solution of our problems can best be found in the leavening of our institutions and of ourselves by the saving morality of the Gospel.

Famous Days and Deeds in Holland and Belgium. By Charles Morris. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1915. Pp. 348.

The eyes of the world have been centered for the past two years upon Belgium and its neighbor, the Kingdom of Holland. These two countries, formerly known as the Low Countries, have had a history as intensely interesting as any in Europe. From the time of Charles V down to the Independence of Belgium in 1830, their history can hardly be divided. The work of Motley has made the history of Holland better known to English-speaking peoples than that of Belgium, and the reading public cannot but welcome any book which tells us the story of King Albert's people. Belgium has been the battle ground of Europe from the days of the Battle of Bouvines, and she has centered in herself

some of the most tragic events, both political and religious, of modern times. The purpose of this present book is not to give us the history of Holland and Belgium, but rather the more notable historical tales which concern these countries. The greater part of the book deals with the reigns of Charles V, and Philip II, who is continually called a merciless bigot and the instigator of a Gehenna of awful torment and terror. The work is largely religious propaganda, and among its many defects is the absence of any treatment of the English Pilgrims during their exile around Leyden. The work is advertised as written with the greatest skill, with sound knowledge and with fire and enthusiasm. Even boys and girls, we are told, as well as men and women, will be spellbound at its reading. The book is especially recommended for Sunday School teachers and pupils, and the children are promised the greatest inspiration in its perusal. If modern historical science had made no progress since the pioneer days of Gachard, and if Pirenne had never written his perfectly balanced *Histoire de la Bélgique*, Mr. Morris might be able to make us believe that all his enthusiasms, which are mostly unsympathetic to the religion of the whole of the Belgian people and a large part of the population of Holland, were founded on fact. Fortunately, those who wish to know the real story of the reign of Philip II have books at hand which will give them more accurate knowledge of the times. Mr. Morris continues the legend of Stanley's treason; he has nothing but praise for Philip Sydney and Leicester; and his chapter on the Armada is as little historical as if he had never seen the documents for this period. The book is exactly what it pretends to be, an historical tale, and will be no help to the student who would look into it for the background of the story of the Pilgrim Fathers or of the early history of New York. The work has no index.

Theodore Roosevelt: The Logic of His Career. By Charles G. Washburn. Illustrated. New York and Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1916. Pp. 245.

Some observers of political affairs after the recent State and congressional elections gave public expression to the prophecy that June, 1916, would find Theodore Roosevelt without a party or a following. There is fragmentary evidence, however, that the Progressive party has not entirely ceased to exist and abun-

dant proof that the distinguished Colonel is one of the there central figures in American politics. He continues to write about many subjects, the personal one included; and he, his friends and those who do not permit of this classification, are assured of interested and numerous readers for what they may write about him. Theodore Roosevelt is a talking and much talked of gentleman.

The book is an interesting and "intimate biography by a friend of forty years" and a class-mate at Harvard. Although the biographer does not agree with Mr. Roosevelt on many of his political theories and found "parting company (1912) with him deeply painful," it is his conclusion that "Roosevelt has never been a politican; that his opinions, regarded by many as radical and by some as even revolutionary, were carefully considered for many years before they found expression; and that in the campaigns of 1912 he was seeking to advance a cause and not any personal ambition; . . . incidentally, that Roosevelt is, and has always been, a person of great simplicity of character, of the highest ideals, and with a wider range of genuine human sympathies than any other man who ever occupied the Presidential office." The author makes no attempt at a history or even "a finished sketch of his life," and the reader may notice with regret that some incidents have been either entirely omitted or summarily treated. The contents include in outline the eventful activities of the ex-President from his graduation to the campaigns of 1912, and conclude with a chapter on his personal characteristics. Roosevelt's Carnegie Hall address, *The Right of the People to Rule*, is reprinted in the Appendix.

Mr. Washburn has drawn many hitherto unpublished citations from his personal correspondence with Mr. Roosevelt, and he materially strengthens his contention "that his (Roosevelt's) opinions were carefully considered for many years before they found expression." The justification for this conclusion he finds in a comparison of views expressed in messages to Congress and elsewhere. A decision in the New York Court of Appeals in 1885 declaring unconstitutional an act of the legislature prohibiting the manufacture of cigars in tenement houses first aroused Roosevelt's wrath "against that kind of judicial mind which is blind to changed social conditions and which was disposed to limit the area of 'police power' as to make it impossible for the

correction of such abuses," a remedy for which he sought during many years and finally believed he had found in the limited application of the doctrine of the recall of judicial decisions, advocated in his Columbus speech of 1912. Reference might here be made to the so-called Vatican incident. Mr. Washburn says: "Roosevelt has been advised and urged not to go to Rome and thus to avoid trouble. He said that he would not invite trouble but would not go a hand's breadth out of his way to avoid trouble when he knew that he was in the right." It is true that much was made of the unfortunate incident that was not warranted by the facts. It may be questioned, however, whether in this particular instance he was justified in knowing "that he was in the right." Mr. Roosevelt might well have shown the Pope the courtesy and respect which he himself so energetically demanded from others.

Life of Rev. Charles Nerinckx. By W. J. Howlett. Mission Press, S.V.D. Techney, Ill. 1915. Pp. 484.

This new biography of Father Nerinckx has three ends in view. By means of hitherto unused documents it seeks to present his life more completely and more accurately. It would clear his character from the frequent charges made against him, and to some degree the author's underlying thesis is that Nerinckx was a saint. These purposes are pursued through thirty-three chapters of interesting and well-connected narrative.

The measure of success attained by the writer in these endeavors is open to criticism. Father Howlett's work marks an advance, possibly, on those of Maes, Spalding, and others who have touched the subject but the book does not come with the finality of a last word. Unless we err, the archives of Baltimore might be made to yield additional material which should not be neglected. Again, the vindication of Nerinckx in the matter of rigorism, of his relations with some of his co-workers, and of the other disputed points, is not such as to silence controversy. To call attention to these facts is not to disparage the work. The author's championship of the saintly missionary awakens a

universal response of hearty sympathy, though it may leave the question as open as ever.

Inexcusable, however, is the absence of bibliography and references to sources. One looks in vain to learn where the documents cited are to be found, and printed sources are quoted with never a mention of a page. Despite these shortcomings, however, the book takes its place as one of value in the growing field of American Church history.

The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides, 1630. Translated by Mrs. Edward E. Ayer, Annotated by Frederick Webb Hodge and Charles Fletcher Lummis. Pp. xiii+309. Chicago, Privately Printed, 1916.

In his introduction to this work, Charles F. Lummis says: "This Memorial is one of the scarcest of all *Americana*. A copy of the thin, parchmented volume, printed in 1630, and of only 104 pages, is worth at least its weight in gold. To the student of the Southwest it is as precious as to the collector—an indispensable source. Benavides was an eyewitness and a part of the history-making era he records. He was an honest chronicler, though an enthusiastic one—a religious 'promoter,' as it were. The very zeal which made him risk his life and make naught of his hardships as a frontier missionary for a number of years, colors his report—which was purely to induce the King to send more missionaries to New Mexico and build more churches there for the conversion of the Gentiles. Naturally he was optimistic, so far as populations go; sixty per cent is none too large a rebate for his figures, which were of necessity mere guesses. There was no census; and these Indian populations almost invariably impress one as more numerous then they are. Less pardonable writers than Benavides have gone much farther astray in these estimates, in our own day. Barring this, and his natural 'prospector' faith in 'mines' which never panned out, Fray Alonso is a most trustworthy witness; and by grace of his position, a most important one."

Referring to the present edition, here under discussion, Mr. Charles F. Lummis gives the following interesting information:

"One of the few extant copies of the original Spanish edition of Benavides is in the possession of Mr. Edward E. Ayer, of Chicago, the first president of the Field Museum of Natural History, a trustee of the Newberry Library, a frontier-made American who has gathered one of the noblest libraries of *Americana* in existence. Mrs. Ayer, in full sympathy with his passion, has set herself with rare devotion and patience to the translation of Benavides; and with as great modesty has given me plenary editorial authority upon her manuscript. I have scrupulously compared it word for word with the original, have made whatever correction or comment that seemed fit, and am prepared to vouch for the translation as it stands. Mr. Frederick Webb Hodge, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, supplies over his own initials a connotation which adds greatly to the value of the work."

In regard to the translation as such he says: "This is not a literal translation. It is merely an accurate one. It gives what Benavides said, so that our reader can understand him in English as clearly and as closely as his seventeenth century reader understood him in Spanish. No liberties whatever are taken with his meaning or his vocabulary. . . . It is enough at present to say that . . . the whole is tested by a reasonably thorough familiarity with the documentary Spanish of Benavides's day and fellows, with every mile of the ground Benavides writes of, and with the language as it is still spoken there."

The last sentence will be readily assented to by all who are acquainted with the work of Mr. Lummis in the Southwest, and it tends delightfully to enhance the value of the present work.

The book is divided into three parts. The first part gives us the English Version of the Memorial, with numerous foot-notes by either Mr. Charles F. Lummis or Mr. F. W. Hodge, pages 1–75. The second part gives the Spanish Text of the Memorial, pages 77–183. The third part contains the "Notes," 72 numbers in all, chiefly by Mr. F. W. Hodge, pages 185–285. Thereupon follows a copious Index, which enables one to easily find especially the proper names occurring in the text or the notes upon it. The "Memorial" itself, of course, makes most interesting reading with its optimistic tone, and one can well understand why it created, in the time of Benavides, such lively enthusiasm in

Spain and other European countries. The brief footnotes give the necessary elucidations of the text, and historic hints. But the quite elaborate "Notes" in the third part of the book might be called a book by itself. They comprise 100 pages in smaller print of most valuable information. In character they are critico-historical, giving more accurate accounts of the various personages and places, the several Indian Nations and their customs, whenever the text calls for further explanation on these matters. Aside from the interest they awaken in the reader, they give him a complete review of the subject-matter, which could be supplied otherwise only by consulting many books treating severally on the various subjects. It goes without saying that being merely "Notes" they are condensed as much as possible, yet they contain a great wealth of information which is most satisfying to the inquisitive mind. As already stated they mostly, in fact practically all, are from the pen of Mr. Frederick Webb Hodge, who is an authority on matters Indian.

The exquisite illustrations that are inserted, forty-four-page copperplate prints, embellish the book delightfully, besides which there are also inserted in the text of the notes, the title-pages of the four first translations into other languages. It is noteworthy that within four years from the publication of the Spanish original in 1630, this Memorial appeared also in French (in 1631), Dutch (also in 1631), Latin (in 1634) and German (probably also in 1634).

The present edition is a very scholarly one. We find only one footnote (page 67), which needs correction. It refers to the so-called Cuaresma de los Benditos, or "Lent of the Blessed," which applies only to members of the Franciscan Order, and not, as the note says, to all members of the Catholic Church. The paper of this edition is very good, as also is the print, the Spanish version standing off from the English print in bold antique type. In every respect it is a valuable addition to any library, and it is to be hoped that many others of its kind will follow. There is an extensive field of work ahead for American historians, in bringing to light the thousands of manuscripts of these early periods of American history which are as yet hidden away in the various libraries, especially of Mexico and of Spain. The collaborators of the present work, Mrs. Edward E. Ayer, Mr.

Frederick Webb Hodge, and Mr. Charles Fletcher Lummis, deserve our congratulation for having presented to Americans their beautiful "Benavides." Though only printed privately in 300 copies, let us hope that it will some day be placed on sale for all lovers of American history.

NOTES AND COMMENT

An anxious time it was for the Church in Pennsylvania, when, after the death of its first Bishop, the Rt. Rev. Michael Egan, O.F.M., on July 22, 1814, the Diocese was without a spiritual head until the consecration of Bishop Henry Conwell, at London, September 24, 1820. The six years of *interim* did not pass without an attempt being made to fill the vacant See. Several names were suggested to Archibishop Carroll before his death (December 3, 1815), and by him to Propaganda. Among them were Dubourg, who became Bishop of New Orleans (1815); David, who became coadjutor-Bishop of Bardstown (1819); Gallitzin, the Russian prince-priest, who might have been chosen, had it not been for the financial burden he had personally assumed in the support of his missions; Hurley, the pastor of St. Augustine's Church, Philadelphia; de Barth, who was acting-Administrator of the widowed Diocese, and who was steadfast in his refusal to accept the position; and Harold, one of the leaders of the factionists at St. Mary's Church. Propaganda yielded to the wishes of Bishop Flaget in the case of David, and, passing over the other candidates, appointed the Rev. Ambrose Maréchal of Baltimore to the See of Philadelphia (January 16, 1816). It was not the first time Maréchal had been mentioned for a bishopric, since it is evident from one of Concanen's letters that, had that venerable prelate succeeded in reaching his Diocese in 1810, he would have proposed the future Archbishop of Baltimore for the coadjutorship of New York. Maréchal refused Philadelphia, and de Barth was selected in July, 1816. De Barth was equally averse to the burden of the episcopate, even threatening to sign, as Administrator, his own release from the Diocese in order to escape the responsibility. Philadelphia then remained vacant until Conwell's consecration in 1820.

The *Archives* of Propaganda contain several interesting letters from these ecclesiastics during the *interim* of 1814–1820; and some of them give us an entirely opposite impression of the principal personage concerned—Ambrose Maréchal. Maréchal's *Report to Propaganda* (October 16, 1818), embodies a very frank insight into the troubled condition of the Church in the United States at the time. There were apparently disturbances everywhere, especially in Philadelphia; and in the traditional history which has survived, the third Archbishop of Baltimore has not been allowed to escape without some rather bitter accusations of party-spirit, tyranny, and ambitious self-seeking. Maréchal's letters to Propaganda show us, on the contrary, a man who feared sincerely the responsibility of the episcopate and one who felt he estimated better than his friends his own capacity for filling it. In one of these letters, dated Baltimore, April 9, 1816, to Cardinal Litta, then Prefect of Propaganda, Maréchal solemnly protests his inability to cope with the situation in Philadelphia, and humbly declines the appointment, which had been made in the month of January of that year. He disclaims any part in the influence brought to bear upon Propaganda by Bishop Dubourg, of New Orleans, who

was then in Rome; he censures Flaget for his selfishness in not allowing David to be nominated to Philadelphia; and states that David's absence from Kentucky would relieve a poignant situation there, due to Father Badin's unreasonable jealousy: "Semel enim R. David amoto, omnia in pace fore arbitrabatur Archipraesul [Carroll]; dum e contra si in Kentuckiana Dioecesi remaneat valde timendum est ne occasione ejus praesentia magna exoriantur scandala." One of David's letters in the *MS. Irish College Portfolio* corroborates this statement.

Maréchal then enumerates the reasons why he should not be appointed to the See left vacant by Bishop Egan's death. The Catholics of Philadelphia had heard the rumors of Dubourg's intrigue at Rome in favour of his fellow-Sulpician, and they would be easily persuaded that his election was not to be attributed to zeal for the glory of God, but to ambitious plans which originated with the newly consecrated Bishop of New Orleans. Moreover, Philadelphia possessed at that time a priest of exceptional oratorical ability—the Rev. Father Harold, who was ambitious for the post of Coadjutor under Bishop Egan—and, since Maréchal was not proficient in the art of preaching, comparisons would be made by the Haroldites, which would be detrimental to his episcopal authority. The most important reason, however, for his refusal was the fact that St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, where he was then professor, needed him more than ever. Father Nagot had died the very day he was writing this letter (April 9, 1816), and his worthy successor, Father Tessier, was dangerously ill, and therefore unable to attend to the education of the young clerics. "These are the reasons, my Lord Cardinal," Maréchal writes, "which duty compels me to submit to the wisdom and piety of Your Eminence; for before Christ, Who is my Judge, I bear witness that, if I refuse to receive the bulls, of which Your Eminence speaks, I will be led to do so, because the present conditions are such, that my appointment can only turn to the detriment of the Church here." After professing his loyalty to the Holy See and his obedience to the Pope, Maréchal explains further that it is against the spirit of the Society of S. Sulpice for its members to accept any ecclesiastical dignity. Should, however, the Supreme Pastor of souls oblige him under obedience to accept any such charge "*quamquam suprema ejus innixus bonitate atque misericordia spero illud nunquam fore adventurum,*"—"then, as a victim led to the sacrifice, I will submit myself in fear and trembling to the yoke imposed."

In a second letter to Cardinal Litta, dated Baltimore, December 1, 1816, in reply to his Eminence's letter from Rome, of July 13, 1816, Maréchal again urges the election of David to the See of Philadelphia. Rumors had also arisen, he says, that he was to be appointed Coadjutor of Baltimore, with the right of succession; and he begs the Cardinal Prefect for the good of the Church not to consider him for the post, but to nominate Cheverus, the Bishop of Boston. Maréchal shows in this letter that he foresaw all the sad difficulties which awaited Neale's successor in Baltimore, and which indeed he had to meet when he was raised to that metropolitan See the next year (December 14, 1817). The

last paragraph of this letter points clearly to his aversion from any responsibility higher than that which he held in St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore:

> "Neque Te celabo, Ill. ac Emm. Praesul, quod anima mea doleat dolore amarissimo, prospiciens tribulationes quae in hisce regionibus me manent. Vix namque unum devitavi periculum quod in aliud longe majus statim conjiciar. Secundum Deum, solantur me S. Pontificis insignis misericordia atque S. Congregationis summa sapientia, mihique gratam afferunt rationem sperandi fore ut me sinant obscuras quidem at utilissimas quibus vacat St. Sulpitii Societas functiones prosequi et adimplere."

A further letter to Propaganda, dated March 15, 1817, reiterates the stand he has taken, and he again urges Cheverus as the successor of Archbishop Neale.

On June 27, 1817, nine days after Neale's death, he wrote again to Cardinal Litta (this time in French), telling him that news had come from Paris that the Sacred Congregation was about to transfer him from Philadelphia (which he had never accepted) to Baltimore. The letter is worthy of preservation in the original—

> "La révocation du Décret Apostolique relatif à l'évêché de Philadelphie est certainement une mesure très sage et des plus heureuses pour la religion. Je ne conviens nullement pour occuper ce siége. M. David est le seul dans les États-unis qui puisse le remplir avec dignité et avec fruit. . . ."

His resolution not to accept the coadjutorship of Baltimore is equally firm.

> "Il ne peut être maintenant question de me faire Coadjuteur de Baltimore . . . je puis assurer V. E. que ce choix ne seroit que très malheureux. Je ne vous ferai point ici l'énumération des raisons qui prouvent que je n'ai ni les vertus ni les talens que demande cette place éminente. Vous ne me croiriez peut-être pas, d'après les exagérations que l'on a fait de mon prétendu mérite à la S. Congrégation . . . Ma nomination entrainera evidemment [?] la ruine du Séminire de Baltimore . . . Etant une fois sacré Archevêque, il me faudra le jour même de ma consécration sortir de cette maison chérie, et alors que deviendra-t-elle? puisqu'il n-y [a] absolument personne ici qui puisse la soutenir depuis la mort du saint M. Nagot, et qu'il paroit inutile d'en espérer de nos MM. de Paris . . . V. E. est instruite que feu Monseigneur Neale a demandé à la Propagande de lui accorder pour Coadjuteur Monseigneur Cheverus, Evêque de Boston; et en effet, c'est le seul qui vraiment mérite d'être notre Archevêque. Il est pieux, zélé, savant, et très éloquent. Le laisser à Boston, c'est tenir une lumière éclatante sous le boisseau . . . Si donc, ma nomination n'est point une affaire terminée, je me jette aux pieds de Votre Eminence et la supplie humblement aunom de l'église des États-Unis de faire usage de toute la grande influence que vous possédez, pour porter la S. Congrégation à acceder aux voeux de nos vénérables Prélats, qui tous demandent avec instance: 1. la nomination de M. David au siége de Philadelphie; et 2. celle de MM. Cheverus à celui de Baltimore."

We know now that neither of these wishes, which Maréchal tells us were those of Neale and the other Bishops of the time, was fulfilled by Propaganda. David

became Bishop of Bardstown (Bull, dated July 4, 1817), resigned in 1833, and died in 1841. Cheverus was transferred from Boston to France, and died as Cardinal-Archbishop of Bordeaux, in 1836. Philadelphia lay vacant nearly four more years. Maréchal was appointed Coadjutor to Neale, on July 24, 1817, and was consecrated Archbishop of Baltimore, December 14, 1817. His letter of acceptance to Cardinal Litta, dated Baltimore, December 26, 1817, protests still his reluctance to accept the great burden the Church wished to impose upon him; and he tells Litta that his acquiescence is due entirely to the urgent counsels of the priests around him, who saw in his refusal great danger to the Archdiocese and to the American Church.

> "Jamvero per plures dies coram Domino tremens perpendi utrum revera bonum religionis promoverem necne praedictas bullas recipiendo. Neque forsitan unquam adduci potuissem ut eis assentirer, si mihi concessa fuisset libertas adhaerendi proprio meae mentis judicio. At cum viri pietate et doctrina insignes quibus rem totam patefeceram, mihi unanimiter declaraverint oblatam dignitatem me non posse repellere quin ecclesiam catholicam in foederatis Americae provinciis abijcerem gravissimis periculis atque simul laederem virtutem perfectae huius obedientiae quam ab incunabulis palam professus sum erga Sanctam Sedem, bullas praedictas me recipere, quamvis multum reluctans, tandem declaravi, quod statim atque notum fuerit, RR.DD. Cheverus, Bostoniensis episcopus, atque RR.DD. Connolly, NeoEboracensis, Baltimorem sine mora venerunt et die 14 decembris praesentis anni, solemni ritu coram immensa catholicorum multitudine sacratissimum episcopatus ordinem mihi indigno contulere. Nihil ergo nunc mihi superest, nisi ut adjuvante Christi auxilio, gravissimis officiis quae mihi incumbunt pro viribus et modulo meo perfungar. Secundum Deum, Eminentissime Cardinalis, tua summa humanitas ac benevolentia me reficiunt ac solantur. Confido namque quod in multiplicibus difficultatibus quae in administratione vastissimae meae dioeceseos certissime occurrent meae infirmitati opitulari Eminentia tua non recusabit."

Philadelphia thus lost the unique opportunity of numbering this great prelate in the illustrious line of its Bishops and Archbishops. Maréchal, as Archbishop of Baltimore, evinced a very strong affection for the Diocese he had refused and of which he was practically the spiritual head, until Conwell's arrival in December, 1820. "It was no easy thing to get the right sort of man to accept the position of Bishop of Philadelphia," as Kirlin has observed (*Catholicity in Philadelphia*, p. 212); and had Maréchal accepted it in 1816, the sad tragedy of Conwell's reign might have been avoided.

The question has often been asked whether any documents exist at San Isidoro in Rome relative to Bishop Egan of Philadelphia (1808–1814). Bishop Egan was Guardian of this famous College of the Irish Franciscans from 1787 to 1790. He came to America in 1802, and was appointed Bishop of Philadelphia in 1808. He died July 22, 1814. A letter of inquiry sent to that venerable Franciscan, Father Luke Carey, who is probably the best-known Irishman in the Eternal City, brought us the following reply:

St. Isidore's College,
Via degli Artisti,
Rome, March 8, 1916.

My dear Doctor:

Your kind letter was very welcome, and I congratulate you on the success of the *Catholic Historical Review*. I am sorry to say that we have no documents in St. Isidore's relating to Bishop Egan. In the *College Book* there is just the single entry of his appointment as Superior of this House. I dare say the Archives of the Cong. of Prop. Fide contain papers relating to him. In case I should come across any documents suitable for the *Review*, I shall not fail to let you know.

Very sincerely and gratefully,

L. Carey.

Only a few documents on Egan exist in the *Propaganda Archives*, to which access has of late been reluctantly granted. They are in *America Centrale*, Vol. iii, *ff.* 155–6 (Letter of Egan, Phila., requesting faculties, dated December 11, 1803); *ff.* 165–166. (Letter of similar request, dated March, 1804); *ff.* 216–18.) (Translation of Letter of Father Michael Egan, May 11, 1805, on the new province of Franciscans established at Baltimore); *ff.* 20–21 (Resolution of the S. Congregation on same subject); *f.* 268 (On the division of the United States into Dioceses and the proposal of Egan for that of Philadelphia); *ff.* 270–1 (Brief of April 8, 1808, naming Egan Bishop of Philadelphia). The first Bishop of this important See deserves to be better known. Griffin's *Life of Egan*, of which only 100 copies were printed, contains much valuable material, but it can in no sense be called a biography.

There are many valuable documents and printed sources on American Catholic History in the *Archdiocesan Archives* of Westminster (London), and many others, no doubt, of which only the custodian knows, in the *Chapter* or *Old Brotherhood of the Clergy Archives* at Hammersmith.

The first successful attempt to establish secondary Catholic education in the United States was that of the Jesuit College of Bohemia Manor, Md., opened by Father Thomas Poulton, S.J., in 1745 or 1746. Schools had been maintained by the Society of Jesus from the time of Fathers White and Rigby, and plans for the erection of a College had been submitted to the English Provincial a hundred years before the opening of Bohemia College. The terms of annual tuition were forty pounds for the Classics and thirty for those who took only English. The best people of Maryland sent their sons to the College. The establishment was closed in 1773, and when the Society took up again the work of education about twelve years later, it was at Georgetown College that teachers and pupils were reunited. An article on *Bohemia College* will be found among the old files of the *Catholic Standard* of Philadelphia, for the year 1888, under date of February eleventh.

As early as the thirteenth century, the Constitutions of the Dominican Order prescribed that every student, sent from his own province to one of the *Studia Generalia*—Paris, Cologne, Oxford, Montpellier and Bologna—was to be provided with three books—a Bible, the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard (for which the *Summa* of St. Thomas was afterwards substituted), and a History. It is affirmed on good authority that the history mentioned in this part of the Constitutions was the Manual of Church History, written by one Peter, surnamed *Comestor*, because he "devoured" all the books which came into his hands. A glance at Heimbucher's list of Dominican historians (*Orden und Kongregationen der Katholischen Kirche*, vol. 2, pp. 146–163. Paderborn, 1907) will show how prominent a part Church History has had in the literary and scientific labors of this great community, now rounding out its seventh century of devotion to its motto *Veritas*. Among these historians are Bartholomew de las Casas (†1566), the Apostle of the Indians, who wrote the first history of the New World (*Historia de las Indias*, 1492–1520), published at Madrid, 1875, in five volumes; Ciacconius (†c. 1602), the author of the *Historia Pontificum Romanorum et S. R. E. Cardinalium* (Rome, 1787, 3 vols.); Orfanel (†1622), the Catholic historian of Japan; Quétif (†1698), the author of the *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum;* Le Quien (†1733), the author of the celebrated *Oriens Christianus in quatuor patriarchatus digestus*, and many modern writers, including such well known names as Denifle (†1905), Mandonnet, La Grange, Weiss, Coleman, Mortier, Scheil, and others.

On December 21, 1915, as a tribute of respect and esteem for one of its founders, a portrait of the late Martin I. J. Griffin, the writer on historical subjects, was unveiled at the American Catholic Historical Society's headquarters, Philadelphia. It would be interesting to know what became of Mr. Griffin's papers and manuscripts after his death; we have found no record of their accession to the valuable Collections of the Society.

A young Mexican disciple of Cauchie of Louvain, the Rev. Mariano Cuevas, S.J., has just published an important collection of forty-two original documents, all of which bear the seal of the famous *Conquistador* Hernando Cortés, from the *Archivo de las Indias* of Seville—*Cartas y otros documentos de Hernán Cortés, novisimamente descubiertos en el Archivo Général de las Indias de la Ciudad de Sevilla e ilustrados per el Mariano Cuevas, S. J.* Only 350 copies of this collection have been printed.

Napoleon Bonaparte had one dream which never came true. How far the idea was original with his exceptional genius is still a matter of discussion among his biographers; but the stupendous and far-reaching effects of it all are as startling today as they must have been a hundred years ago, when the great conqueror made it known to Europe that Paris was not only to be the pivot of the political world but the intellectual centre as well. To conquer the world was not an impossible achievement; that he had proven. It had been done before; it may be done in the future. To stretch the strong arm of his power from Gibraltar to the steppes of Russia was more than a fleeting dream, since he accomplished it for a moment, before failure overtook him. It is the other dream which

never came true. And it was an ideal—this centralization of all the archives of the world in Paris. The whole world was to be drained of its historical treasures; a second Louvre was to be erected to contain them all; and the road to scholarship in all historical study would lead to the French capital. Under the aegis of the French Empire, scholars from every quarter of the globe would be found laboring side-by-side to bring the hidden truths of history to light and to resurrect the dead past of their countries and the stories of their peoples. Gigantic idea as it was, the lesson was not lost on the *savants* of the world. After Napoleon's fall, the different countries of Europe, including the Papacy, awoke to the necessity of preserving their documentary treasures, and schools arose—schools of paleography, diplomatics, and archival economy—for the preservation of all that remained from the destruction brought on by the wars.

Venerable Bede complains in his *Ecclesiastical History* of this lack of centralization in his time; and, although he wrote nearly twelve centuries ago, his historic method was far in advance of much that is done by Catholic historians today. It was not enough, he saw only too clearly, to make use of the historians who preceded him—Pliny, Solinus, Orosius, Basil, and Gildas—nor could he depend solely on the oral traditions which began to flow into Jarrow, when it was known that the Venerabilis Pater was writing an *Ecclesiastical History of the English Race*. For this reason, he wrote to all the kings, princes, and learned men of the realm, asking for chronicles, annals and other historical documents; and—what is truly significant of his fine scholarship—he sent his friend Nothelmus to Canterbury and Rome for the purpose of copying in the *Archives* there whatever would serve his purpose. It is to Nothelmus, perhaps, as Harnack has concluded, that we owe the celebrated story of *Lucius rex Britannorum*, for he must have copied it from the *Liber Pontificalis*, as it existed in that day.

There is one striking contrast between the alacrity with which Bede's requests for documents and for their preservation were met, especially on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities, and the continual note of despair which runs through the letters of the author who tried to do for the Church History of America what Bede did for England. One cannot mention the list of crimes committed against the history of our Church by this wanton neglect and destruction of documents, without appearing to criticise those who have gone before us or without seeming to complain against the indifference of those who, placed over the Church here, ought to consider the preservation of past records a duty which cannot be left to others. "We may influence some one in authority," John Gilmary Shea wrote, in 1891, in a letter to a friend on the destruction of documents that was being carried out all over the country, in which he speaks of a certain Benedictine who had kept a *Diary* for many years, "so that the volumes formed a pile several feet high," in which was recorded every event in the community and in the Church in that part of his State. These volumes were all destroyed by order of his superior. "Bishop de St. Palais ordered all the papers of Vincennes Diocese (collected, bound, and indexed by his prede-

cessor) to be destroyed. These were cases of deliberate destruction, while of those resulting from ignorance or indifference it would be impossible to make a record!"

This condition of affairs has not ended, and in the centuries to come these facts will be known and appreciated with no acceptance of persons. The spirit of *mañana*, which reigns in this field of Catholic educational endeavor, is blotting out the records of a past that is worthy to be placed side-by-side with the early history of any country in Europe. It is not alone that we have proven indifferent to the preservation of our archives; we have not yet, as a body, awakened even to the intelligent realization of their value. Parochialism, diocesanism, and corporation spirit are evidences of that *esprit du clocher*, which keeps us from forming for ourselves and for the Church in America a national breadth of view, and a profound sentiment of our undeniable place in the history of the United States from 1492 down to our own day. The future Catholics of this country will judge us severely for our neglect to hand down to them the records of our forefathers and the records of our own times.

Napoleon's dream of a great Central European Archives never came true; but there is no reason why a central *National Catholic Archives* should not be erected at once for the housing of all the documents relating to the Church of the United States. Surely some wealthy Catholics exist in the land, whose intelligent outlook on the future of the country is big and broad enough to understand the necessity of this central store-house, built on the same plan as the projected National Archives at Washington, with all modern equipment for the care and preservation of documents, and under the strict control of ecclesiastical authority. It is false to conclude that the centralization of all the Church documents of the country into a *National Catholic Archives* would mean that they would be thrown open to the public. This is not the rule in any of the Archives abroad. At the Public Record Office in London, for example, where all the English *State Papers* are kept, documents later than 1801 cannot be seen without a very special permission from the Foreign Office, and those prior to that date, so far as American students are concerned, can only be seen after the applicant has been identified by the American Ambassador. Reasons must be given for the research work intended, and no copies are allowed to be made without special permit. Rule 9 reads: *No Departmental Minutes or unfavorable criticism of the conduct of officials, and no document of a personal or confidential nature calculated to cause pain to private individuals or injury to the public interests of this or other countries may be copied as quoted.* The same is true of the *Vatican Archives* and of the manuscript collections in the Vatican Library. In general these series are open to students, down to 1815. In every case the student must be a person of approved scholarship, and must await an answer from the Cardinal Secretary of State to his application before presenting himself. Each student or research worker is obliged to register daily on entering and on leaving the research room. Similar rules might be drawn up for the *National Catholic Archives of America*. It must be remembered that the purpose of Archival buildings is not primarily for *research work*, but for the *preservation* of the docu-

ments of the past. This is the principal motive for this centralization here in America, and it would be hard to point to any one incident, since the opening of the *Vatican Archives* (1883), where a scholar has made a wrong use of the privileges accorded to him.

O'Daniel's careful study of the *Life of Richard Luke Concanen, O.P., First Bishop of New York* (1808–1810), which has appeared in the pages of the REVIEW, has given a new interest to that ever-fascinating topic, the *Rise of the American Hierarchy*. Hidden away in a special volume, which his former students presented to him in 1914, the *Mélanges d' Histoire offerts à Charles Moeller à l'occasion de son Jubilé de 50 Années de Professorat à l'Université de Louvain* (1863–1913), there is an article by a former American student of Moeller, the Rev. Dr. F. J. Zwierlein, now Professor of Church History at Rochester Seminary, entitled *Les nominations épiscopales aux premiers temps de l'épiscopat Américain*. It deserves to be translated into English for the benefit of American readers in general. It contains many documents, hitherto unpublished, from the Archiepiscopal Archives of Quebec and Baltimore. We understand that Dr. Zwierlein is at present occupied on the *Life and Times of Bishop McQuade* (1823–1909), which is to appear within a year.

The January (1916) issue of the *American Catholic Quarterly Review* contains three readable articles of historical import: John J. O'Shea, *Rediscovery of Ultima Thule;* Marc F. Vallette, *Some Early Explorers and Missionaries in the Territory now known as the United States;* and R. P. O'Connor, *The Church in Western Canada.*

Seldom has any problem in early American history been found more difficult to solve than that which the Rev. Dr. Ryan treats in his article in the present number, *Diocesan Organization in the Spanish Colonies*. Gams' *Series Episcoporum*, as is known to all scholars, must be used with caution, for the dates of the creation of Sees and the election and transference of Bishops in Spanish America are more or less uncertain. The first to write about Episcopal Succession in America before the origin of the present Hierarchy (1789) was Gil Gonzales Davila, in his *Teátro ecclesiastico de la iglesia primitiva de las Indias occidentales* (Madrid 1649–55, 2 vols.); but his volumes are so filled with obvious errors that little historical faith can be placed in them. Francisco Antonio de Lorenzano, Archbishop of Mexico City (1766–72), who published his *Series Episcoporum regni Mexicani*, in 1769–70, and Antonio Alcedo, whose *Diccionario de las Indias Occidentales* (Madrid, 1786–89, 2 vols.), has been followed by Gams, are by no means the works of scientific historians. Gams tells us (p. 168) that when half way through the compilation of the Mexican Hierarchy, he received much valuable aid from a Father Emmanuel Gonzales, a priest of Peru, who had come to Munich to study the problem; but even this help has not cleared away the confusion which rests on the hierarchical succession in Spanish America.

There is not, for instance, any mention in Gams of that rather hazy prelate, Bernard Buil, the first Vicar-Apostolic of the New World. Historical writers

have spelt his name twelve different ways—from the Latin *Bucillus* to the Irish *Boyle*. Who Buil was, is a mystery not yet unravelled. There were, some hold, two ecclesiastics of this name—Buil and Boil—the first, a Benedictine, the second, a Franciscan. This theory is based on the fact that the original Bull of Appointment, discovered by Father De Roo in the Vatican Library in 1892, was directed to *dilecto filio Bernardo Boil, fratri Ordinis Minorum*, while the Bernard Buil, who came out to Hispañola with twelve other priests in 1493, was a Benedictine. Some ten years ago, that skilled literary master, Dr. Heuser, of Overbrook Seminary, in an article in the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society (Vol. vii (1896), pp. 141–154), came to the conclusion that King Ferdinand had deliberately availed himself of the similarity of the two names to substitute that of his favorite, Buil the Benedictine, for that of the saintly Provincial of the Spanish Franciscans, Boil, who in reality had been designated by Alexander VI. In view of this almost general acceptance of the solution here given, we are more puzzled than ever by the statement made in the *Supplement* to the second volume of Hernaez, *Coleccion de Bulas, etc., etc.* (p. 1069), to the effect that Buil or Boil was *first* a Benedictine of Monserrat and *later* a Franciscan—*Este es aquel Bernardo Buil ò Boil primero monje Benedictino de Monserrate, y despues Religioso Minimo.* Hernaez gives no authority for the statement, but it affords a characteristic example of the obscurity which still prevails over many of our earliest historical events.

Miss Ella M. Flick concludes her translation of the *Diary of Father Marie Joseph Dunand*, the Trappist, in the March (1916) number of the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society.

A volume of more than ordinary historic interest is in course of preparation—*Selected Essays, Sermons and Addresses on Notable Occasions*, by His Eminence James Cardinal Gibbons, of Baltimore. This important publication, which it is hoped will appear in the autumn, will contain the sermons delivered at the Eucharistic Congresses of London (1908) and Montreal (1910), Cardinal Gibbons' Letters during the Vatican Council, his Memorial on the Knights of Labour, and the article which aroused so much admiration some time ago, Will the Republic Endure?

Readers of Webb's *Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky* (Louisville, 1884), have often regretted that he did not complete his character sketch of Father Lambert Young. "Of Father Lambert Young," he says, "and of his labours in that city, the writer might say much that would be as pleasing to him to write as for others to read; but he is not disposed to risk his friendship by giving publicity to the recital (p. 536)." Webb, however, could not pass over that now almost-forgotten episode in Father Young's life, in 1868, when a revolting crime aroused the people of Frankfort, and when the courageous priest threw himself between the mob and the door of the jail where the criminal was imprisoned. The mob was made up of all classes, and all loved and respected Father Young; but their anger had reached such a height of passion that his efforts were fruitless. The United States District Court, shortly after the

lynching, arrested Father Young, and the judge endeavored to have him inform the grand jury of the names of the persons he saw that night in the mob. Father Young bravely refused, and he was jailed for contempt of court. Later he was allowed out on bail on the sum of two thousand dollars, but no citation was ever made for his appearance and the case was allowed to lapse. The present Bishop of Covington, the Right Reverend Ferdinand Brossart, D.D., was his most intimate friend, and, in a letter to one of the Editors of the *Review*, gives us additional details of this celebrated case:

> "When the horrible crime, which led to the arrest of my dearest friend in the Priesthood, was perpetrated in 1868, I was a student at Louvain, and at the time only nineteen years of age. After my return to Kentucky, I was appointed pastor of White Sulphur, Scott County, in 1876, and thus I became the neighbor of Father Young, and for twelve years we exchanged our "delicta" in Tribunali. When I was appointed Vicar General, in 1888, by the late Bishop, Father Young, the pastor of Lexington, became disheartened on account of our separation and finally returned to his native country, Holland, where he spent the rest of his days living with his people and acting as Chaplain of a convent in Wybosh, Schyndel. Webb will give you an accurate account of the scene at the jail. I will only add that, when Father Young (his real name was Yonge) arrived at the jail, the mob was engaged in breaking in the door with an ax. He at once jumped in between the ax and its wielder and demanded that he desist. This man was not a Catholic, as Father Young told me, but admired Father Young very much as did all the people of Frankfort and the vicinity; and he assured him that the men were determined to kill the criminal and that all interference would be ultimately useless. The United States Court officials feared to place Father Young in the Frankfort jail after refusing to testify in court, so they sent him to Louisville, where he would be, as they supposed, removed from the danger of being liberated by another mob. The case was afterwards the occasion of enacting a law in Kentucky, exempting priests, ministers, doctors, and others, from certifying in matters that pertained to their professional duties."

Many of the younger generation in Kentucky will no doubt welcome this authoritative statement about one who will always be a Catholic hero in Kentucky Church annals.

His Eminence, John Cardinal Farley, of New York, is at present occupied on a volume, the *Life and Times of Cardinal McCloskey*, preliminary chapters of which he published some ten years ago in the United States Historical Society's *Records and Studies*. Recently, in an editorial in the *New York Sun*, the Cardinal was urged to write his *Memoirs*. There is no doubt that this volume will contain the authentic history of the Catholic Church in New York for the period of Cardinal McCloskey's years in the episcopate (1844–1875). It is earnestly to be hoped that His Eminence of New York will find time amid the many engaging duties of his Archdiocese to leave to posterity his own reminiscences. No one has taken a more prominent part in the development of the city and Church of New York the past fifty years than this first citizen of our greatest metropolis.

A proclamation has been issued by His Excellency, President Wilson, setting aside a tract of land in central New Mexico for an international monument to one of our Indian and Spanish historians of the Southwest—Adolph Bandelier. The importance of Bandelier's contributions to history and archeology can hardly be overestimated. It is a remarkable fact that he never attended school after he was eight years old, and yet he mastered French, German, English and Spanish, besides many Indian tongues. Bandelier died in 1914, in Spain, where he had gone to finish some research work in the *Archivo Nacional* of Madrid. The Catholic Church of the United States lost a faithful son and a skilled historian in his death.

The story of Eunice Williams has a distinct place in New England history. At the massacre of Deerfield, Mass., on February 28, 1704, the Reverend John Williams, with his wife and children, were among those captured by the Indians and forced to make the long journey on foot to Montreal. Mrs. Williams was tomahawked on the way, and her husband was redeemed by Governor Vaudreuil and sent back to Deerfield, in 1706. His daughter, Eunice, who was only eight years old at the time of the massacre, was left behind with the Indians who adopted her. She subsequently forgot the English language, became a Catholic, and married an Indian named John de Rogers. She adopted Indian habits, and though she visited her relatives several times after her marriage, she refused to return to English customs. The Legislature of Massachusetts offered her a tract of land, if she and her family would settle in Deerfield, but she refused, saying that it would endanger her faith. Her conversion and loyalty to the faith caused many bitter attacks upon the Church, and some of the early controversial literature can be traced to her capture.

Among a host of possible subjects, for which there is excellent material scattered through the pages of the *Fortnightly Review*, of St. Louis, may be mentioned in particular an accurate study of German Catholic Journalism in the United States.

The Reverend Louis Smet, of the Richmond Diocese, probably the only *Licencié en Théologie* of Louvain in this country, contributed a comprehensive sketch of our early missions to the Seminar of Cauchie, in 1909, which deserves translation—*L'Histoire des Missions Catholiques de l'Amérique du Nord jusqu'en* 1763. It can be found in the *Annuaire de l'Université de Louvain*, 1909, pp. 415*ss*.

A very edifying story could be written on the *Lost Catholic Cities of the Potomac Valley*—St. Mary's, St. Clement's, St. Inigoes, Port Tobacco, and others. Port Tobacco must be given the honour of being the birthplace of the contemplative Sisterhoods in this country. The Carmelite Nuns of Port Tobacco are to the United States what the Ursulines of Quebec are to Canada. Between 1754 and 1781, five American ladies had entered the English Carmelite Convent, at Hoogstraeten, Belgium—Ann Matthews, Ann Teresa Matthews and Susanna

Matthews, her nieces, Ann Hill and Mary Mills, all Maryland girls. Ann Matthews (in religion, Mother Bernadine of St. Joseph) was elected Prioress of Hoogstraeten in 1774; and after the Treaty of Versailles, she planned to begin a House of the Order in the United States. Accompanied by her two nieces and another nun, she left Hoogstraeten, April 19, 1790, and came to Maryland, where she founded the first American convent of the contemplative life at Port Tobacco. There they remained until 1830, when the present convent at Baltimore was built, and Port Tobacco was abandoned. From Baltimore they made other foundations—St. Louis (1863), New Orleans (1877), Boston (1890), Philadelphia (1902), Wheeling, etc. Port Tobacco is practically a deserted village today; but in 1790, it was one of the centres of the old aristocratic and wealthy families of Maryland.

The American Church History Seminary Library has been enriched with the following brochures: J. J. Riordan, *Catholicity and its Growth in Worcester, Mass.;* R. P. Odorc-Marie Jouve, O.F.M., *Les Franciscans et le Canada,* Vol. i (*L'Etablissement de la Foi,* 1615–29). Quebec, 1915; *Souvenir and Program of the Golden Jubilee Celebration of St. John Berchmans Acholythical Society of St. Joseph's Parish, St. Louis, Mo.,* 1916; Charles E. Brooks, *Life Insurance for Professors* (University of California Publications in Economics, Vol. 4, No. 2); Rudolph Schuller, *Native Poetry of Northern Brazil; South American Popular Poetry; Erroneous Interpretations of the "Tears Greeting;" Zur sprachlichen Stellung der Millcayac-Indianer; The Ordaz and Dortal Expeditions in search of El-Dorado;* W. B. Farrell, *Priest Baiting in* 1916; Schmidt, *Catholic Echoes of America;* Pratt, *American Indians, chained and unchained; Answer of Hon. T. St. John Gaffney to charges filed by State Department, which led to his resignation as American Consul General, Munich, Germany;* Sister Mary Agnes McCann, *Character Glimpses of Most Reverend William Henry Elder, D.D., Second Archbishop of Cincinnati* (1883–1904); *Biographical Sketch of Mother Margaret Cecelia George* (née *Margaret O'Farrell*), one of the first companions of Mother Seton, and *Mother Seton, Foundress of the Sisters of Charity,* by the same authoress (Cincinnati, 1909); *The Year Book and Book of Customs of the Church of Our Lady of Lourdes, Washington Heights, New York* (1916); Lobkowitz, *Statistik der Päpste* (Freiburg im B., 1905); Monsignor O'Brien, President of the Michigan Historical Society, *Two Early Missionaries to the Indians* (Lady von Hoeffern and Father Pierz); *Life Work of a Saintly Prelate* (Archbishop O'Connor, of Toronto, Canada); *History of St. Patrick's Parish, Cleveland, Ohio,* 1853–1903; Gallitzin, *An Appeal to the Protestant Public,* Ebensburg, 1819; *Souvenir of St. John's Church, Bellefonte, Pa.,* 1897; *Index to a Collection Americana* (*Louisiana Books*), *Miscellanea and Art, Private Library of T. P. Thompson,* New Orleans, 1912.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PART I: THE AUXILIARY SCIENCES

II. Chronology

It has been freely asserted, that up to within sixty years ago, History was scarcely more than a branch of literature, a field of intellectual endeavor with distinctly literary aims. That a change and a great change has come over this attitude is evident to all who will but compare the productions of the historical schools and seminars of the world with the popular historical literature of our grandfathers' day. History has now become a science—a cut-and-dried science, if you will, but a science which has made, perhaps, more progress the past half century than any other. History has become a technical science, which is limiting itself more and more not only to research work among the sources and materials, but also to the strict critical appraisement of these sources, and to a system of rules, as rigid as those of Euclid, for the use of the conclusions based on these judgments. Many deplore this change, for it is felt that it can only culminate in a process whereby History will be robbed of all her attractiveness. None ought to welcome this change more than those who are members of the Catholic Church. It may not be just to agree with De Maistre that History has been for the past three hundred years a conspiracy against the truth and against the Church, but if any corporate body is to profit by these more skilled efforts to learn the truth, it will be that Church which brought civilization to Europe and to America, and which has always cherished within her ranks the highest ideals of devotion to learning, to art, to science, and to religion. The popular Catholic American mind seems never to have gained the sense of the antiquity of its Church in this country. Few apparently appreciate the fact that our history goes back to the days of the Middle Ages; that the colonists who came here from Spain and France brought with them the conscious values of medieval institutions; and that the settlers from England did hardly more than establish laws which were strictly in accordance with the Capitulations of Runnymede of 1215. The present tendency in all our American centers of learning is to lay special stress on the European background of American history, or on what may be called the American foreground of European history. This fact alone would postulate among the students of American history a knowledge of all those kindred or auxiliary sciences, which are of vital import in the study of European history. It may be true that history tends to lose her soul in the presence of these temptations to specialize distinct branches, such as Chronology, Paleography, Diplomatics, etc., etc., but accuracy of time, of place, of event, and of *dramatis personae* is too valuable an asset to be preferred after style and pleasure.

Chronology and Geography have been called the two eyes of History, without the use of which all is confusion and uncertainty. There are two general branches in the science of Chronology—*Mathematical* (Theoretical, Astronomical), and *Historical* (Technical). *Mathematical* Chronology is that part of the science of mathematics which determines the laws to be used in measuring

time. *Technical* or *Historical* Chronology, of which we treat here, has for its object the system of authenticating the dates given in the documents and of bringing these dates, if necessary, to their corresponding place in our system of computing time. Up to modern times, as we can see at a glance from the pages of Giry's *Manuel de Diplomatique*, Chronology was a confused mass of systems and methods. There have been not only different methods of computing the eras, but also many diverse systems of numbering the cycles of the years, the beginning of the year, the days of the month, and the parts of the day. Now, the date, as has been observed, is the most indispensable single factor in the study of a document, both from the historical as well as from the legal point of view. A knowledge of the systems of time-calculation employed in the Middle Ages and in modern times is, therefore, a *conditio sine qua non* of historical research. The year was begun, for example, in different parts of Europe, on January 1 (*Style of the Circumcision*); March 1 (*Style of Venice*); March 21 or 22 (*Style of the Vernal Equinox*); March 25 (*Style of the Annunciation*); August 11 (*Style of Denmark*); September 21 or 22 (*Style of the Autumnal Equinox*); December 25 (*Style of the Nativity*); Easter (*Style of France*). There were also, under the Julian Calendar, the divisions of the months into *Kalends, Nones* and *Ides;* and the much-used divisions of *indictions*—a relic of the days of the Roman Empire, when the year was divided up into units of fifteen for the purpose of revising the collection of taxes. These various modes of beginning the year, not only in different countries, but even in the same country, have caused the confusion which would still be resting on the science of Technical Chronology, had it not been for the great classic of the Benedictines of France, *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, which was begun under the direction of Dom Maur d'Antine, and continued by Dom Clemencet and Dom Durand, who published the first edition of the work, in Paris, in 1740. Dom Francis Clement revised the work and published subsequent editions in 1770, and in 1783–87. A fourth edition was published by Saint-Allais between 1818–44, in two separate forms: one in forty-four volumes *octavo*, and the other in eleven volumes *folio*. One of the first scholars to attempt a reform of this science was Joseph Scaliger, in his *De Emendatione Temporum* (Paris, 1583), which has since become the basis for all chronological study. In 1627 Petavius, better known for his theological works, published his studies: *De Doctrina Temporum* (Paris, 1617), and *Rationarium Temporum* (Paris, 1633). The most complete of all the Manuals on Chronology is that of C. Ludwig Ideler, *Handbuch de mathematischen und Technischen Chronologie* (two volumes, Berlin, 1825–26), of which a short compendium exists: *Lehrbuch der Chronologie* (Berlin, 1831).

We see the sun rise in the morning, Ideler says in the *Preface* of his *Handbuch*, we see it reach its full zenith at midday, and withdraw itself from our sight in the evening, and during the time of its "coming and going" we have been living through parts of the day, month, year, and era, as humanity has done since the beginning of creation. The attempt to measure these periods of time has given rise to several sciences, and among them *Chronology* has attempted to place order in the series of centuries which have gone by; for no surer test of the authenticity of a statement or the genuineness of a document exists, than the perfect agreement of any two or more dates which may be mentioned therein. There are

few subjects of an erudite nature, says another writer, of greater utility to the historian and at the same time fraught with thornier difficulties than that of Technical Chronology. The first difficulty to be borne in mind by the student of American Church History is that a very important change occurred in our system of time-calculation by the Bull *Inter gravissimas pastorales officii nostri curas*, of Gregory XIII, February 29, 1582. The errors in the Julian method of computing the year and the discrepancy which existed between the astronomical year (as sustained by Mathematical Chronology) and the ordinary reckoning in use amounted, in 1582, to ten days, so that the Julian system, introduced by Caesar (45 B. C.), had fallen ten days in arrear. The alteration made by Gregory XIII, since known as the *New Style* (often abbreviated to N. S.), and as the *Gregorian Calendar*, consisted in this: that by pontifical law the fifth of October, 1582, was to be called the fifteenth. St. Teresa's feast day, although she passed away in reality on October 4, 1582, is now celebrated October 15, 1582. Gregory XIII determined that the year should begin all over the Western World on the same day, January 1. In order to prevent the Julian error from causing an arrear in the future, he ruled that three leap years should be omitted in every four centuries, namely, those of the centennial years the first two figures of which are not exact multiples of four, as 1700, 1800, 1900, 2100, etc.

For the purpose of ascertaining the exact dates of documents, it is important to remember when the *New Style* was adopted in the various countries of Europe. Denmark, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy (not wholly), Holland and the greater part of Belgium, and Lorraine adopted the Gregorian Calendar in 1582; in Germany and Switzerland the *Catholic* provinces adopted it in 1584, the *Protestant* provinces, in 1700; in Poland it was adopted in 1586; in Hungary, in 1587; in Tuscany, in 1749; and in Great Britain and Ireland, in 1752. Since the Catholic life of the United States has been more closely united with that of Great Britain and Ireland, especially in the days before the organized Hierarchy (1607–1789), much confusion has occurred from the discrepancy of the time-computation made at London and at Rome—our chief eccesiastical centres during this period. The usual example of this discrepancy is the date of Queen Elizabeth's death. This occurred in what was then styled in England March 24, 1602, being the last day of the legal year. On the Continent, and wherever the New Style prevailed, this day was April 3, 1603. To avoid ambiguity, historical students frequently express this difference as $\frac{\text{March } 24}{\text{April } 3}$, $160\frac{2}{3}$. Our history books have modernized all these dates; but with the history of the Catholic Church of America, which in large part remains to be written, the research-worker must proceed with the strictest caution, if the sequence of cause and effect is to be kept unbroken in his narrative. Not only must the difference of ten days be reckoned in Irish and British history before 1752, but the two "New Year's" days of January 1 (the historical year), and of March 25 (the civil, ecclesiastical, and legal year), must be kept separate. For example, the execution of Charles I, according to one system, is January 30, 1648; according to another, January 30, 1649.

Other works on this subject, besides those already mentioned, are the following:

ARBUTHNOT, *The Mysteries of Chronology.* London, 1900.

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CARRERESI, *Cronografia generale dell'era volgare dall'anno I all'anno 2000.* Florence, 1875.

CHAMBERS, R., *The Book of Days, a Miscellany of Popular Antiquities in Connection with the Calendar, including Anecdote, Biography, and History, Curiosities of Literature, and Oddities of Human Life.* Edinburgh, 1888, 2 vols.

GAMS, *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae.* Ratisbon, 1873.

(For the part concerning the United States, this is being superseded by the publication of Bishop Corrigan's studies in this REVIEW, on the *Chronology of the Catholic Hierarchy in the United States.*)

GROTEFEND, *Zeitrechnung des deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit.* Hanover, 1891; *Handbuch der historischen Chronologie.* Hanover, 1874.

HALES, *A new Analysis of Chronology and Geography, History and Prophecy, etc., etc.* London, 1830. 4 vols., 2d ed.

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MACDONALD, *Chronologies and Calendars.* London, 1897.

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RIBEIRO, JOAO PEDRO, Dissertação sobre las Datas dos Documentos e Monumentos da Hispanha e especialmente de Portugal. Lisbon, 1810–35, 2 vols.

SPANHEIM-WRIGHT, *Ecclesiastical Annals.* Cambridge, 1829.

WEINGARTEN, *Zeittafeln und Ueberblicke zur Kirchengeschichte.* Leipzig, 1891.

The student of Church History can dispense with several of these works on *Chronology;* but he should possess BOND or HAYDN, and preferably GIRY'S *Manuel de Diplomatique* (Paris, 1894), which is the best compendium on the subject. In the next issue of the REVIEW we shall take up two other Auxiliary Sciences—*Paleography* and *Diplomatics.*

(To be continued)